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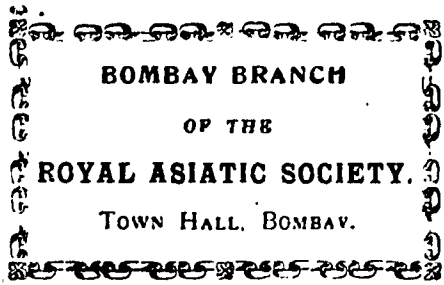

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ENGLISH WRITERS

AN ATTEMPT TOWARDS

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

BY

HENRY MORLEY

LL.D. EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE
AT UNIVERSITY COLLEGE LONDON

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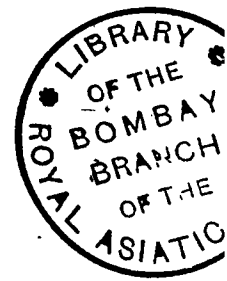
IX

SPENSER AND HIS TIME



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DEDICATION.

APRIL 5, 1892.

The trembling movement of a joy too pure
To dwell with dust has ceased; gone is a joy
Whose memory no sorrow can destroy—
The more than forty years of love as sure
As God's high promises. Truth must endure.
Love crowns the bended head when no alloy
Of low desire rings base, no cares annoy,
And the soul sits in sight of God secure.
O wife with God, loved next to God, true wife!
To thee these careful words I dedicate,
Which through long time pursue the path of life
Where England treads the way that thou hast trod
Of simple Duty, glad to work and wait,
And bring her children to the love of God.

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ENGLISH WRITERS.

BOOK VIII.

Spenser and his Time.

CHAPTER I.

SPENSER'S EARLIER YEARS—ECLOGUES—BARNABY GOOGE AND GEORGE TURBERVILE — "THE SHEPHEARDES CALENDER."

EDMUND SPENSER was born in Lancashire, the only part of England where the name has been found commonly spelt Spenser, and not Spencer. The name is derived from the office of steward, or household dispenser. Dr. Grosart has, through much research, made it evident that the Spenser family to which the poet belonged had been long resident in North-East Lancashire.* The first Lancashire Spensers appear to have

Spensers of Lancashire.

* Dr. A. B. Grosart's ten volume edition of "The Complete Works in Verse and Prose of Edmund Spenser" has for its first volume, with a few appended essays by other hands, a Life of Spenser by the Editor, unusually rich in new facts and valuable suggestions. Dr. Grosart, in his long and honourable career as an editor of old English writers, has, perhaps, contributed more than anyone else living to a minute accuracy of detail in the histories of many leading men. But he overlooked the list of Corrigenda in "the Letter Book of Gabriel Harvey" when he used, as evidence of Spenser's Lancashire birth, Gabriel Harvey's reference to the height of Pendle Hill "in your shier." That was a misprint for "in ye aier."

settled in the vale of Cliviger, south of the town of Burnley. In 1392 an Adam le Spenser had a single farm in the hamlet of Hurstwood.* In the burial registers of Burnley, which date only from 1562, there is record of the burial of a Thomas Spenser in 1572, and of an Edmund Spenser in 1577.

An Edmund Spenser of Hurstwood, yeoman—probably the poet's uncle—appears in 1560 in a list of freeholders of Cliviger. He married twice, made his will in December, 1586, and died in April, 1587. His second wife, Margaret, survived him about eighteen years. He left a son by each of his wives, and each son was named John. The younger of these two Johns was old enough to act, in 1586, as executor to his father's will. The will of that Edmund Spenser's second wife was dated in April, 1602, three years after the poet's death, and it contained a bequest to Edmund, son of John Spenser—son, that is, of the elder of the two Johns, who had died three months after his father, in 1587.

The elder of those two John Spensers left a wife, Grace, with that son Edmund and a daughter, Mary. In 1593, Grace Spenser married again, her second husband being Nicholas Towne. The younger of those two John Spensers lived for some years on the farm at Hurstwood with his mother, Margaret, and had four illegitimate children before his marriage in May, 1594. The first son of his marriage was named Edmund, and he was born in October, 1595, four years before the poet's death.

* An Adam the Spenser in the "Tale of Gamelyn" was godfather to the old Adam in Shakespeare's "As You Like It."

> "Gamelyn into the woode stalkede stille,
> And Adam the Spenser likede ful ylle;
> Adam swor to Gamelyn by seynt Richer,
> Now I see it is mery to be a Spenser,
> That lever me were keyes for to bere
> Than walken in this wilde woode my clothes to tere."

John Spenser the younger, when his brother's son, Edmund, came of age, gave up to him the farm at Hurstwood, and lived until 1619, at Redlees, in Cliviger. This Edmund Spenser died in 1654, leaving two sons, John and Edmund, and it was not until some ninety years after the poet's death that the freehold at Hurstwood was by a deed of conveyance alienated from that section of the Spenser family. If we look, then, to the Hurstwood relations visited by Spenser when he went among his friends in the north of England, we find that the farm was occupied—say, in 1578, when the poet went north after graduating—by the Edmund Spenser who died, an old man, in 1587, with Margaret, his second wife, and his two sons John, of whom the younger could not have been less then than ten or twelve years old.

There were other Spensers within easy reach of a visitor to Hurstwood. At Filley Close, in a part of the Pendle Forest district which was held to belong to the Castle parish at Clitheroe, there lived in a house still known as Spensers', a Lawrence Spenser, who had married Lettice Nowell, of the family of Dean Nowell, whose brother, Robert Nowell, bequeathed to him a charge for the charitable disbursement of much money. The spending of Robert Nowell's money, set forth in a MS. preserved at Towneley Hall, contains entries that have thrown much light upon the poet Spenser's early history. Lettice Nowell's marrying with Lawrence Spenser, of Filley Close, seems to have been the origin of Dean Nowell's regard to the Spensers as poor kinsfolk. Lawrence of Filley Close had two sons, Ellis and Lawrence. He was himself alive in 1569, and may be the Lawrence who was buried at Newchurch in 1584. Lawrence was frequent as a family name in this household of Spensers. There was another Lawrence Spenser, who had four children born between 1564 and 1575, and who himself died in September, 1593. Lawrence was the name given by the poet to his second son.

There was another Spenser—John—at Downham, on the other side of Pendle Hill, who had a son, Richard, and a brother, Henry, and whose will was dated February, 1611. There was a Robert Spenser in Habergham Eaves or Ightenhill Park, who, in some litigation about property, is found making common cause with Edmund Spenser, the elder, of Hurstwood, who died in 1587. There was a John Spenser, of Habergham Eaves, who was a witness, in 1586, to that Edmund Spenser's will. There were Spensers, also—one of them an Edmund—living in the town of Burnley.

There can be no doubt that these Spensers were the poet's kith and kin, and it is fair to look for his nearest kindred among those who favoured more especially the name of Edmund. It was a very frequent Christian name among them. There was an Edmund Spenser, of Habergham Eaves, who died eight years after Edmund Spenser the poet.

Of the poet's own birth there is no record. He was born in or about the year 1552, and the oldest parish register at Burnley does not begin until ten years later. But he was born, probably, in a part of London where his baptism would have been recorded in the books of a church destroyed by the great fire of 1666. Dr. Grosart probably is right in his conjecture that the poet's father was John Spenser, a younger brother of the Edmund Spenser, of Hurstwood, who died in April, 1587. This John Spenser, as a younger brother, having no land to inherit, appears to have learnt a trade and lived in London as a clothworker. In the records of the Merchant Taylors' Company there is a John Spenser, described as a free journeyman in the art or mystery of clothmaking, who was, in October, 1566, in the service of Nicholas Peele, shierman, of Bow Lane. Edmund Spenser, the poet, was a poor scholar at Merchant Taylors' School, which he left in 1569, nine years after the school had been established.

The Poet's Parentage.

There were only two other Spensers on the books of the company, and neither of these could have been father to a boy aided as poor. There was a wealthy Nicholas Spenser, who was Warden of the Company in the year when Edmund was admitted to the school as a poor scholar. There was also on the books of the Merchant Taylors' Company a John Spenser who was of a Suffolk family. He went to Oxford and there became, in 1607, the President of Corpus Christi College.

There was a John Spenser, described as the son of "John Spenser, gent.," admitted as a scholar to Merchant Taylors' School in August, 1571. He went on to Cambridge, and was sent, like Edmund, to Pembroke Hall. It is not unlikely that this John was the poet's younger brother, sent to school in London three years later, when their father had acquired a business of his own.

Until some document, yet undiscovered, shall give certain evidence of Spenser's parentage, these reasonable conjectures may be taken as, at any rate, in full agreement with all facts that have been ascertained. We may assume, also, as most probable that when the young poet went to Lancashire he was, for the chief part of the time, guest of his uncle Edmund and aunt Margaret at Hurstwood, where there were two cousins John, who may, possibly, both have been named after the yeoman's younger brother. Hurstwood is about two miles from Townley Hall, three miles from Burnley, and six or seven from Todmorden.

Of the date of Spenser's birth there is no evidence except that which may be inferred from one of his sonnets, and supported by reference to the time of his entering and leaving college. Birth Date.

The sixtieth sonnet is one written, as its place in the sequence shows, at the close of the year before that in which Spenser was married. It is known that he was married in 1594; the sonnet, therefore, was written at the end of the

year 1593. The sixty-second sonnet is on New Year's Day. The sixtieth sonnet speaks of a year's love-suit,

> "The which doth longer unto me appear
> Than all the forty which my life outwent."

Take this literally, and the deduction of that one year's love-suit brings us to the end of the year 1592, from which a deduction of forty brings us to the suggested birth date, 1552. But poetry is not chronology; forty may also be taken as the round number that came nearest to the truth. Thirty-seven, eight, or nine; forty-one, two, or three; could not have been the number used in such a context.* But as Spenser went to college in May, 1569, he would then have been in his seventeenth year if born in 1552; and as he went from Merchant Taylors' School and entered as a sizar, he would hardly have gone at a much earlier or at a later age. If he wrote in the same year the pieces of verse translation ascribed to him in the English version of van

* This is the Sonnet:

> "They that in course of heavenly Spheres are skilled
> To every planet point his sundry year
> In which her circle's voyage is fulfilled,—
> As Mars in threescore years does run his Sphere:
> So, since the wingéd god his planet clear
> Began in me to move, one year is spent
> The which doth longer unto me appear
> Than all those forty which my life outwent.—
> Then, by that count which lovers' books invent,
> The Sphere of Cupid forty years contains,
> Which I have wasted in long languishment
> That seemed the longer for my greater pains.
> But let my Love's fair Planet *short* her ways
> This year ensuing, or else short my days."

Spenser, it will be observed, speaks here of his "long languishment," not in the forty years before the one, but in the one that he had found by love's arithmetic to be equal to forty.

der Noodt's "Theatre for Worldlings," he could not well have been more than a year younger—that is to say, in his sixteenth year. The birth-date, therefore, if not 1552, was probably 1553 rather than 1550, 1551, or 1554.

Spenser himself, in his "Prothalamion," names London as his place of birth—

> "At length they all to mery London came,
> To mery London, my most kyndly Nurse,
> That to me gaue this Lifes first natiue sourse."

William Camden also said that Edmund Spenser was a Londoner. The tradition that he was born in East Smithfield, near the Tower, reaches us through two writers of the eighteenth century, William Oldys and George Vertue. Oldys (who died in 1761) wrote "in East Smithfield" as a marginal note to the date of Spenser's birth, in Winstanley's "Lives of the most famous English Poets." George Vertue wrote, in 1731, in his "Notes on the Life and Poems of Spenser,"*—"East Smithfield, near the Tower, the birthplace of Edmund Spenser, that Famous Poet and our Second Chaucer. This printed in Latin and English at the bottom of a Large Map of London graved by Hollar, published 1647; or rather Perspective View of London." There is no such inscription printed on that map. Vertue could only have seen it as it had been printed in manuscript by some unknown person at any time between 1647 and 1731; and the same note made by an unknown writer on the margin of Hollar's map may have been the authority for Oldys's note on the margin of Winstanley's book. But the tradition may have reached Oldys in some other way. In London, then, Spenser certainly was born. His friend Gabriel Harvey sets him down as of London, in the county of Middlesex; so that he was not born on the Surrey side of the Thames. But as to the part of London in which he

Birthplace.

* In Additional MS. 23,089, in the British Museum.

was born, the only evidence is a respectable tradition which no fact at present known confirms or contradicts, and which rests on a note written by an unknown person at least fifty—perhaps more than a hundred—years after the poet's death. We have to grant, therefore, the possibility of error, when we say that Spenser was born in East Smithfield, near the Tower.

There is more certain knowledge of his place of education, from a source that must be first accounted for. Robert, a younger son of John Nowell, of Reade Hall, in Lancashire, was born in or before the year 1520. He was educated with his brother Alexander, afterwards Dean of Saint Paul's, at the Middleton Grammar School and at Brasenose College, Oxford; then he entered to Gray's Inn, and prospered as a lawyer. In February, 1561, he was appointed for life Queen Elizabeth's Attorney of the Court of Wards. He obtained many lucrative appointments, and acquired a large fortune. He had chambers in Gray's Inn, and a house at Hendon. In his chambers at Gray's Inn he died, on the sixth of February, 1569, and left a will by which he settled that, after payment of funeral, debts, and legacies, the poor should have all his remaining goods. This established a considerable fund for benefactions. Robert Nowell's brothers, Alexander, Dean of St. Paul's, and John, Dean of Lichfield, with John Towneley, were appointed his executors, and Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, as acting executor, had at his own discretion the distribution of the trust fund. Dean Nowell lived till February, 1602. He faithfully carried out the wishes of his brother Robert, and there remains a list of the persons to whom money was paid out of the fund, set down in groups, as a record of the way the money had been spent. The list shows who the poor women were who had black gowns, and the poor men who had black coats, at the funeral; what was eaten and drunk at the funeral dinner; who were the poor

prisoners, poor parishioners, poor scholars who were befriended, and what was given to each; what money was given towards the marriage of poor maids, what cloth and money to poor widows, what was given to poor women and men in their times of trouble. It set forth what gowns and what money had been given to the relief of poor ministers, and among other groups there were two of especial interest to students of literature. These show "what was given to poor scholars of divers grammar schools," and what was given to poor students at the universities. There are thirty-nine pages of the MS. setting forth details of help given to scholars of Oxford and Cambridge. These lists of persons helped are all set down with names, dates, and exact particulars. Young Edmund Spenser has his place with the poor scholars and poor students, among whom are some others who also lived to make for themselves an abiding name. This full account of the spending of the money left in trust was put together apparently from detached papers by a secretary or steward in Dean Nowell's service, and was interlined where necessary by the Dean himself. Upon Dean Alexander Nowell's death, his brother Lawrence having died before him, the papers of the trust came into the keeping of the third executor, John Towneley. This MS., from which we learn that Spenser was at Merchant Taylors' School before he went to Cambridge, was discovered at Towneley Hall by Mr. H. B. Knowles in the course of his search for valuable records as a member of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts. The discovery of this MS., with full disclosure of the light it threw upon the life of Spenser, was Mr. Knowles's chief contribution to the fourth report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission, published in 1837. The whole MS. was printed in 1877 by Dr. Grosart, with a full index of names and many notes.*

* "The Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell of Reade Hall, Lancashire, Brother of Dean Alexander Nowell, 1568–1580. Edited

In the manuscript of the Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell, the name of Edmund Spenser appears among the "poor scholars" assisted in 1568. This alone would not identify the poet; but the twenty-eighth of April, 1569, is the date of another gift "To Edmund spensore scholler of the m'chante-tayler scholl, at his gowinge to pembrocke hall in chambridge, xs." As Spenser left the school in 1569 at the age of about seventeen, he probably was sent to it at eight years old in the year 1561 when it was opened, with Dr. Richard Mulcaster for its head master. The entry at Pembroke Hall corroborates the entry in the Spending of Robert Nowell. Spenser matriculated as a sizar on the twentieth of May, 1569. The twenty-fifth of May, in the same year, is the date of the preface to a book, entered at Stationers' Hall on the twenty-second of July, which was the English version of a work first published in Dutch and French by John van der Noodt. In this English version certain poems by Bellay and Petrarch that had been adopted as a popular text for van der Noodt's religious argument, were translated into verse by Edmund Spenser, when he was a boy of sixteen about to pass from school to college.

At Merchant Taylors' School.

The title of the book in which these pieces appeared was, "A Theatre wherein be represented as wel the miseries and calamities that follow the Voluptuous Worldlings, As also the great joyes and plesures which the faithfull do enioy. An Argument both profitable and delectable to all that sincerely loue the word of God." The author of the book was a refugee physician from Antwerp, John van der Noodt, who found friends in London. In the same year, 1569, William

Translations from Bellay and Petrarch.

from the Original MSS. at Towneley Hall, Lancashire, with Introduction, Notes, and Illustrations. By the Rev. Alexander B. Grosart, Printed for Private Circulation, 1877."

Barnard, a draper of London, obtained a reissue in English of instructions that van der Noodt had published for the use of those who wished to guard themselves against taking the Plague. It was called, "Governance and Preservation of them that fear the Plague. Set forth by John Vandernoote, Physician and Surgeon, admitted by the King his Highness. Now newly set forth at the request of William Barnard of London, Draper, 1569." A French version of his "Theatre" had been printed in London by John Day the year before.* Van der Noodt's purpose in his "Theatre for Worldlings" was to lift the minds of men from earth to heaven. His book was born among the conflicts of the time; its editor—exile himself for conscience' sake—upheld among all trials of his faith the true "joys of the faithful." Jan van der Noodt had credit as a poet with his countrymen, and it was usual with him to publish his verses in the language of Brabant, with a French version appended to them. So he produced, in 1579, his *Cort Begryp der XII boeken Olympiados;* in 1580, his *Lofsang van Brabánd;* and in the same year, in his native town of Antwerp, his *Verscheyden poetische Werken.* All these works were bilingual. There was a French version always given with the pieces he wrote in his native tongue. Poems from Bellay and Petrarch upon earthly vanities were used by him in the shaping of his "Theatre" as pleasant piping of sweet music—bird-call to the flighty worldlings. His own prose then religiously enforced the lesson against faith in the stability of worldly joys, with much use of the imagery of

* "Le Theatre auquel sont exposés et monstrés les inconveniens et miseres qui suivent les mondains et vicieux, ensemble les plaisirs et contentements dont les fideles jouissent. J. Day, Londres, 1568." There was a translation by B. Froe from Low into High German, published in 1572. "Theatrum das ist Schawplatz darin die Eitelkeit, &c." Here the poems from Bellay and Petrarch have part of the prose text placed before them and part after them.

the Book of Revelation. The translation of this prose part into English was made by Theodore Roest, and either Roest or van der Noodt, in looking for a translator of the poems of Bellay and Petrarch—which they used as bait for their little trap to catch the worldling—found the boy Spenser competent and willing. Theodore Roest refers to the prose pieces in saying, "I have out of the Brabants speech turned them into the English tongue," and, "I have translated them out of Dutch into English." There is no public acknowledgment of the young Spenser's help. But, twenty-two years later, these pieces were claimed for Edmund Spenser, and inserted in his volume of "Complaints," published in 1591. The blank verse of the translation from Bellay was then re-cast into rhyme, while the sonnets representing a Canzone of Petrarch retained, with less revision, the form into which they were then said to have been "formerly translated." Since, wherever two opinions are conceivable, each has its supporters, there are some who argue against Spenser's authorship of those pieces of verse translation in the "Theatre for Worldlings." I should think the fact beyond all reasonable doubt, if reasonableness also were not matter of opinion.

"The Theatre for Worldlings."

The book in which verse of Spenser's first appeared in print is a volume scarcely larger than six inches by four, printed by Henry Bynneman at the sign of the Mermaid, in Knight Rider Street. There are a hundred and seven leaves of prose text, all following in this edition the verses and the woodcuts. Before the work itself there is a leaf of Latin verse *in commendationem operis*, containing a piece by M. Rabila, poet of Brabant, and an "octastich" by Dr. Gerard Goosen of Brabant, poet and physician. Next follow thirteen pages of an Epistle to the Queen, dated at "London, her Majesty's City and Seat Royal," on the twenty-fifth of May, 1569, by her Majesty's "most humble servant,

Iean vander Noodt." In this Epistle, van der Noodt describes himself as a refugee from the abominations of the Romish Antichrist. "I have," he says, "among my other travails been occupied about this little Treatise, wherein is set forth the vileness and baseness of worldly things which commonly withdraw us from heavenly and spiritual matters. To the end that understanding the vanity and baseness of the same, and therewithal considering the miserable calamities that ensue thereupon, we might be moved the rather to forsake them, and give ourselves to the knowledge of Heavenly and eternal things, whence all true happiness and felicity doth proceed." This book, he said, could best be dedicated, as thank-offering for shelter, to her Majesty, a most blessed and happy prince, whose ancestors conquered in France, who herself is a rare Phœnix of her time, with "learning, knowledge, counsel, judgment, and eloquence as well in the Greek, Latin, Italian, French, Dutch, as in our natural English," who can give wise answers to every ambassador in his own language, who is expert in music, and "according to the exact proportions of geometry exquisite in the measures of the dance, instructed by Apollo and the Muses in the art of poetry, so as to be a second Sappho, skilful in painting and imagery, and accompanying all with the love and fear of God, according to the saying of King Lemuel in the third of Proverbs, 'Favour is deceivable, and Beauty a mere vanity, but the woman that feareth the Lord is beloved.'" God, says van der Noodt, has lightened the queen with His Holy Spirit, and chosen her "especially to be His champion, to defend His beloved Church." Never did England flourish as now under her. Christ said, If they persecute you in one city, flee into another. Some have gone with their wives, children, and parents into the territory of Frederick, Prince Elector and County Palatine, others elsewhere: "But we, a number of us, are arrived in safety in this your Majesty's realm of England, as into a most safe

and sure harborough, where we live (God be thanked) under your Majesty's protection and safeguard, in great liberty to serve God in either language, the French or the Dutch without all fear of tyrants or danger of the gaping throats of greedy ravening wolves." After such dedication, the book begins with Spenser's translation of six Visions of Petrarch, which are entitled "Epigrams," and each placed opposite the woodcut emblem that was used also in other editions of van der Noodt's book. The original of these Visions is a single poem in Petrarch, the Canzone beginning "Standomi un giorno solo a la finestra." It is in six twelve-lined stanzas, followed by three lines of "Envoy"—

> "Canzon tu puoi ben dire:
> Queste sei visioni al signor mio
> An fatto un dolce di morir desio."

In van der Noodt's book they were translated by Spenser into twelve or fourteen-lined little poems, each consisting of three four-lined stanzas of alternate rhyme, with or without an added couplet. In reprinting them, Spenser turned all into fourteen-lined poems, and added a new seventh sonnet in place of the four lines with which he had translated the three lines of Petrarch's "Envoy"—

> My song, thus now in thy conclusions
> Say boldly that these same six Visions
> Do yield unto thy Lord a sweet request,—
> Ere it be long within the earth to rest."

The fourteen sonnets giving Visions from Bellay culminated in the Scarlet Woman and the cry that Babylon is fallen, the White Horse of the Book of Revelation, and a last sonnet beginning, "I saw new earth, new heavens, said Saint John." The young poet translated these into pieces of fourteen lines, without troubling himself to put them into rhyme. They were translated afresh, therefore, for the

volume of 1591, into the rhymed form used by Spenser for all sonnets that he wrote—three four-lined stanzas of alternate rhyme, with addition of a final couplet. For illustration, let us take the first of these Visions of Bellay, as Spenser translated it without rhyme in his boyhood, and as he rhymed it afterwards before he claimed it as his own—

> " It was the time when rest, the gift of gods,
> Sweetly sliding into the eyes of men,
> Doth drown in the forgetfulness of sleep
> The careful travails of the painful day:
> Then did a ghost appear before mine eyes
> On that great river's bank that runs by Rome,
> And calling me then by my proper name,
> He bade me upward unto heaven look.
> He cried to me, and Lo (quod he) behold
> What under this great Temple is contained,
> Lo all is nought but flying vanity.
> So I, knowing the world's unsteadfastness,
> Sith only God surmounts the force of time,
> In God alone do stay my confidence."

These lines of 1569 became in 1591—

> " It was the time when rest, soft sliding down
> From heaven's height into men's heavy eyes,
> In the forgetfulness of sleep doth drown
> The careful thoughts of mortal miseries:
>
> " Then did a ghost before mine eyes appear
> On that great river's bank that runs by Rome,
> Which, calling me by name, bade me to rear
> My looks to Heaven, whence all good gifts do come.
>
> " And crying loud, Lo now, behold (quoth he)
> What under this great Temple placéd is:
> Lo, all is nought but flying vanitee.
> So I, that know this world's inconstancies,
>
> " Sith only God surmounts all times decay,
> In God alone my confidence do stay."

In this way, Spenser revised all his translations from Bellay; but the translations from Petrarch, when he republished them as "formerly translated," remained absolutely as they were first written, with only a few acts of revision to extend to fourteen lines those "Epigrams' that were at first written in twelve.

After the poems in van der Noodt's book came the prose text, entitled "A Brief Declaration of the Authour vpon his Visions, taken out of the Holy Scripture and dyuers Orators, Poetes, Philosophers and true histories. Translated out of French into English by Theodore Roest." The running title used as page-heading is "The Theatre for Worldlings," and that is the name by which the book was known.

Friendship with van der Noodt, and work of this kind done for him, implied sympathy with the spirit of the refugees from the Low Countries. Such feeling we shall find to be intense in Spenser's manhood, and it is thus shown to have been strong also in his youth. That he wrote much verse at school and college is not merely to be inferred from the fact that he was born to be one of the four greatest of our English poets. A letter of Gabriel Harvey's that names unpublished poems written by Spenser in his student days includes, among other work, not fewer than nine comedies.

Spenser at College.

Having entered Pembroke Hall, on the twentieth of May, 1569, as a sizar, there is evidence, a year and a half later, of the want of outward means implied in such a form of studentship. In the Spending of the Money of Robert Nowell there is this entry, dated the seventh of November, 1570: "To Richard Lougher* and Edmond Spenser towe poor scholars of Pembrock haule vi^{s} a peace, in the whole xij^{s} by the handes of Mr. Thomas Newce felow of the same howse . . . xij^{s}." It will be remembered that six

* Langherne.

shillings at that time would be equal to about three pounds in present buying power. Spenser's wealth was within him.

The Master of Pembroke Hall in Spenser's time of residence at Cambridge was Dr. John Young, who in 1578 was made Bishop of Rochester—Roffensis. He is the faithful Roffy of one of the eclogues of Spenser's "Shepherd's Calendar." Evidence furnished to Dr. Grosart, from the college books, of old allowances to men when ill, shows that Spenser was ill for more than a fortnight in 1571; for two periods, each of a month, in 1572; for six weeks in 1573; for a month, and for a second period of a fortnight, in 1574; from which we may assume that the young poet's health was not robust. He graduated as B.A. in 1573, and as M.A. in 1576. Then, after seven years' residence, he left the university without having obtained a fellowship, and went to his friends in Lancashire, at Hurstwood and elsewhere among the barren hills and the vales of Pendle Forest.

Gabriel Harvey.

One of the friends whom Spenser left at Cambridge, Gabriel Harvey, loved him well, and in his own way, and according to his own lights, also loved good literature. When Spenser had finished his course at the university, and his age was about four-and-twenty, that friend and fellow-student of his at Pembroke Hall, Gabriel Harvey, was lecturing on rhetoric at Cambridge. The introductory lecture of Harvey's course in 1577, apparently his second course, was published under the name of "Ciceronianus"; and his two first lectures of the course for 1578 were also published, under the name of "Rhetor." He had then advanced from a close following of Bembo, and other Italians, who exalted above all things the Ciceronian style. He had received an impulse to the appreciation of individuality in other authors from the reading of Jean Sambuc's "Ciceronianus." He had learnt within that year to look for the whole man in a writer as a source of style, and, still exalting

Cicero, to attend first to the life and power of the man, and not to the mere surface polish of his language, "Let every man," he said, "learn to be, not a Roman, but himself." Gabriel Harvey, then, the friend of Spenser and of Sidney, was no pedant. He was the eldest of four sons of a prosperous ropemaker and maltster, who also kept cows, at Saffron Walden. Two other brothers, Richard and John, followed him after a while to Cambridge; Richard, the elder, coming to Pembroke Hall as a boy of fourteen, in 1575, found in his brother Gabriel a guide and tutor.

An obscure book of Gabriel Harvey's enables us to understand the way of Spenser's introduction into life. In July, 1578, Queen Elizabeth visited Audley End, where the buildings of the suppressed abbey, used as a residence, had the place of the great house afterwards built in the neighbourhood of Saffron Walden. Cambridge being close by, the university paid homage to the queen on that occasion. Gabriel Harvey, being a Saffron Walden man, made much of the event. When the great scholar, Sir Thomas Smith — who was of Saffron Walden and a kinsman, who had become a Secretary of State under Elizabeth and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, and had written a Latin book upon England, *De Republicâ Anglorum*—died, in 1579, Harvey wrote his lament called *Smithus*. A series of Latin poems celebrating notabilities of the queen's visit to Saffron Walden was written by Gabriel Harvey, and published under the name of *Gratulationes Valdinenses* ("Walden Gratulations"). Two were upon words spoken by the queen concerning Gabriel himself. He pressed forward with his homage, and the queen said, "Who is this? Is it Leicester's man that we were speaking of?" Being told that it was, she said, "I'll not deny you my hand, Harvey." Again, as the subject of another set of verses, "Tell me," the queen said to Leicester, "is it settled that you send this man to

Spenser in London.

Italy and France?" "It is," said he. "That's well," she replied, "for already he has an Italian face and the look of a man; I should hardly have taken him for an Englishman." In the queen's eyes he was like an Italian, for the dusky hue which Thomas Nash afterwards compared to rancid bacon. Here, then, we learn that Harvey was in Leicester's service, and about to be sent abroad by him. But Harvey just after this time wrote to his friend Spenser, who had left college upon taking his M.A. degree, and who seems to have been living as a tutor in the north of England, bidding him leave "those hills where harbrough nis,"

> "And to the dales resort, where shepheards rich,
> And fruitful flocks bene euerywhere to see."

The common friend of Harvey and Spenser who wrote the original gloss on "The Shepheardes Calender," says: "This is no poetical fiction, but unfeignedly spoken of the poet self, who for special occasion of private affairs (as I have been partly of himself informed) and for his more preferment, removing out of the north parts came into the south, as Hobbinol" (that is the name given in "The Shepheardes Calender" to Gabriel Harvey) "advised him privately."

Now, the advancement was by introduction to the Earl of Leicester, and by Leicester—either in place of Harvey, or as well as Harvey—Spenser was sent abroad. In October, 1579, there were addressed to Gabriel Harvey some affectionate hexameters by Edmund Spenser, then on the point of travelling into France. "Despatched by my lord, I go thither," Spenser said, in the postscript dated from Leicester House, "as sent by him and maintained, most-what, of him; and there am to employ my time, my mind, to his honour's service." Clearly, then, the introduction to Leicester, which determined the whole future of Spenser's life, he had obtained from his friend Harvey. As "Leicester's man"

Harvey had become acquainted with Philip Sidney, Leicester's nephew. Likeness in age and love of literature had developed between them a friendship in which Spenser now was joined. It was in the year 1579, when he was in Leicester's service and Sidney's society, a frequent guest at Penshurst, and a young man with a future to make, that "The Shepheardes Calender" was published.

Eclogues.

When Spenser planned "The Shepheardes Calender," English writers had paid little attention to pastoral poetry. Robert Henryson's "Robene and Makyn," * in the latter half of the fifteenth century—the first pastoral in our language—was a pastoral by accident. It chanced to use dialogue between a shepherd and a shepherdess for illustration of a homely proverb, without following eclogues of Virgil or of any other writer, and it had no imitators.

We have seen † that in the latter days of Henryson, towards the close of the fifteenth century, pastoral writing came into high favour in Italy, and established itself during the earlier half of the sixteenth century in Spain and France. ‡ In England, Alexander Barclay § with his eclogues, written probably between 1513 and 1516, followed the fashion, and we have seen also that two of Barclay's eclogues were expanded versions of two of the eclogues of Mantuan.

In the latter half of the sixteenth century there were only two volumes of eclogue published in England before Spenser's "Shepheardes Calender." These were Barnaby Googe's "Eglogs, Epytaphes and Sonetes," published in 1563, and "The Eglogs of the Poet B. Mantuan Carmelitan, Turned in English Verse, and set forth with the Argument to every Egloge by George Turbervile, Gent. Anno 1567." Barnaby Googe had also some translations from Virgil's

* "E. W." vi. 254–256.
† "E. W." vii. 84, 85.
‡ "E. W." viii. 54, 55.
§ "E. W." vii. 104–109.

Eclogues in his translations of Heresbach's "Four Books of Husbandry," published in 1577.

Barnaby Googe.

Barnaby Googe—born on St. Barnaby's Day in the year 1540, at Alvingham, Lincolnshire—was the son of a Robert Googe, Recorder of Lincoln, his mother being Margaret, daughter of Sir John Mantell. He studied at Christ's College, Cambridge, and at New College, Oxford, without taking a degree at either university, went then to Staple Inn, and was employed by his kinsman, Sir William Cecil. Googe was energetic in his opposition to the Church of Rome, a poet of repute in his time, and a diligent translator.

"The Zodiac of Life."

His first work was a translation of "The Zodiac of Life," written by Pier' Angelo Manzolli under the anagram of (Marzello Palingenio) Marcellus Palingenius. The author, born at Stellata, in the Ferrarese, is said to have been a physician, protected at the Court of Ercole II. d'Este, who was Duke of Ferrara from November, 1534, to October, 1559. To this prince he dedicated his poem—in Latin hexameters—first published at Venice without date, afterwards at Basel in 1552, and entitled *Zodiacus Vitæ, hoc est, De Hominis Vita, Studio, ac Moribus optime instituendis, Libri XII.* The twelve books of this moral poem on the doctrine of the life of man were named after the twelve signs of the Zodiac. They were welcome in England for the boldness with which an Italian writer, who claimed to be a member of the Roman Church, poured scorn on the corruption in monastic orders. Palingenius said, in his dedication to Ercole II., that it was not, he thought, to be imputed to himself if in so large a work some things were found that seemed to differ from the orthodox religion: "For while sometimes I speak of things philosophical I cite the opinions of different philosophers, especially the followers of Plato. If these be false, it is they, not I, who should be blamed. For my intention is

never to swerve from the Catholic Faith." His Church did blame him. "The Zodiac of Life," that boldly condemned, together with the pride of princes spiritual and temporal, the gluttony and idleness of monks, and called them pigs,* was entered at Rome in the Index of Prohibited Books as work of a heretic of the first class. The author was protected at Ferrara in his lifetime, but attack was made upon him in his grave by digging up his bones and burning them.

This was the very interesting book upon which Barnaby Googe first tried his skill as a translator. He began by publishing his version of the first three Books, into septenars, in 1560, with a metrical preface in the same popular measure. The Nine Muses, he says, looked in upon him as he sat by the fire in winter. Melpomene bade him "Stand up, young man," and take his pen and translate Lucan. Urania bade him translate Aratus. But Calliope gave counsel to which the other Muses all assented, and which the young man proceeded to obey. Said Calliope—

"A poet late I had whose pen did tread the crabbed ways
Of virtuous life, declaring how that men should spend their days.
In Romish lands he livéd long, and Palingen his name
It was. Whereby he got himself an everlasting fame
Of them that learnéd be. But of the mean and ruder sort
He lives unknown, and lacks thereby his just and right report.
Wherefore my suit is to you all, Grant me this wight awhile
That standeth here, that he may turn my Poet's stately style
To vulgar speech in native tongue that all may understand.
To this they all agreed and said, 'Take thou that work in hand.'"

In 1561 there was a second edition of Barnaby Googe's translation of the first three Books of "The Zodiac of Life," with the next three Books added. The translation was continued, and in 1565 Googe's complete version of the twelve Books appeared, with a dedication to Sir William Cecil.

* "Pro pudor: hos tolerare potest ecclesia porcos!" is a line near the end of the Ninth Book (Sagittarius).

In the meantime, Barnaby Googe had been sent by Cecil to Spain, towards the close of the year 1561, leaving with his friend, H. Blundeston, the little collection of his "Eglogs Epytaphes and Sonettes." Googe's Eclogues. Googe was away in Spain for about a year. During his absence his friend Blundeston sent the poems to be printed, and wrote for them, on the twenty-seventh of May, 1562, an address to the reader, followed by a preface in twelve stanzas of *ottava rima*. This preface set forth how Fancy gave one counsel as to the best way to refresh the Senses dulled with poring over books, and Reason gave another—

> "Lo here the eye a paper bunch doth see
> Of filéd works of Googe's flowing head,
> Left here behind when hence he passed from me,
> In all the storms that winter's blasts bespread
> Through swelling seas and lofty mountains high,
> Of Pyrenei the paths unknown to tread—
> Whose great goodwill I keep, and in his place
> His verses crave to represent his face."

Barnaby Googe came back, and found his little book of verse already in the printer's hands. He then finished his longest piece, "Cupido Conquered," wrote a prose dedication "to the ryght worshipfull M. William Lovelace Esquier, Reader of Grayes Inne," and published the book in March, 1563, the year in which he was appointed one of the queen's gentlemen pensioners. There were prefixed lines of commendation by Alexander Neville, who published in the same year, 1563, his translation of Seneca's "Œdipus." Neville's lines of commendation are such as Bully Bottom could have recited forcibly for the confusion of "those crab-snouted beasts" by whom good verses are defamed. But in the earlier years of Elizabeth's reign such frothy lines are to be found in many who had grace and wit, and were able to show that they could discourse music when

they did not roar. Good Bottom's "raging rocks with shivering shocks" attacked a form of eloquence not rare in Shakespeare's early days. This is how Alexander Neville began his suggestion to Barnaby Googe of the malice of small critics towards men who rise high above them—a malice that does no hurt to the strong—

> "The mountains high, the blustering winds,
> The floods the rocks withstand,
> The cities strong the cannons' shot
> And threatening chieftain's hand;
> The castles huge, by long besiege
> And dreadful battle broke,
> Both fire and flames and thundering thumps
> And every deadly stroke
> With fervent broiling furious rage
> Doth beat and drive to ground
> The long defencéd walls by force,
> And throughly them confound."

The eight Eclogues at the beginning of Barnaby Googe's small collection of verse of his own* deal with the two powers of love and religion. Their general plan was suggested by familiarity with Mantuan. In the first eclogue Amyntas tells Daphnes of the pains of the young lover's state in honest and accepted love. In the second eclogue Dametas laments as a rejected lover—

> "Thou seest her mind, what fear'st thou then,
> Dametas, for to die?"

And after a lament with this for burden, Dametas kills

* Only three copies of Barnaby Googe's "Eglogs, Epytaphes and Sonnettes" were known to be in existence when Professor Arber obtained leave to make a transcript of the copy in possession of Mr. Henry Huth, and published the book for a shilling in 1871, with excellent introductory Notes, as one of his series of "English Reprints." Any of Professor Arber's publications may be had by application to the editor himself at 34, Wheeley's Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

himself. In the third eclogue, between Menalcas and Corydon, Corydon tells how his ram has been lamed by fight with the great ram of the flock given by the martyr of love, Dametas, to Tityrus. The talk then passes to "the Town's estate," where another Corydon of low birth—Bishop Bonner—is represented as the persecutor of the faithful shepherds. This is set forth in a passage that distinctly figures the burning of heretics in Mary's reign. Barnaby Googe's Eclogues are all written in septenars, iambic lines of seven accents, split for convenience of printing in a small book with a narrow page. I quote the reference to Bonner as first written, and indicate the place where each line was divided—

" The chiefest man in all our town | that bears the greatest sway
Is Corydon, no kin to me, | a neat herd th'other day.
This Corydon, come from the cart, | in honour chief doth sit,
And governs us because he hath | a crabbed clownish wit.
Now see the churlish cruelty | that in his heart remains:
The seely sheep that Shepherds good | have fostered up with pains,
And brought away from stinking dales | on pleasant hills to feed,—
O cruel clownish Corydon ! | O curséd, carlish seed !—
The simple sheep constrainéd he | their pasture sweet to leave
And to their old corrupted grass | enforceth them to cleave.
Such sheep as would not them obey | but in their pasture bide,
With cruel flames they did consume | and vex on every side.
And with the sheep the shepherds good | (O hateful hounds of hell !)
They did torment and drive them out | in places far to dwell.
Then diéd Daphnes for his sheep, | the chiefest of them all,
And fair Alexis flamed in fire | who never perish shall.
O shepherds wail for Daphnes death, | Alexis hap lament,
And curse the force of cruel hearts | that them to death have sent ! "

Daphnes, probably, was Cranmer, burnt on the twenty-first of March, 1556, when Googe was a youth of sixteen, and "the fair Alexis" may have glanced at women who were martyrs, like Anne Askew. It was only in this one of his eight eclogues that Barnaby Googe dealt in pastoral form with the struggles of the Reformation. In his fourth eclogue

Melibeus tells Palemon that he has been visited by the ghost of Dametas, who slew himself for love and is in hell, suffering far worse torment than that from which he sought escape. In the fifth eclogue, Egon tells Mopsus of a Faustus who sent his page, Valerius, to urge his suit to a fair lady, Claudia. The lady loved the page, and killed herself when she found that he was only pleading for his master. Then the master stole away, whereupon the page also lamented and ran into the woods and was seen no more: "Lo Faustus fled and Claudia dead, Valerius seen no more." In the sixth eclogue, Felix tells Faustus of the remedies for love: avoid sight of the shepherdess, burn her gifts and her letters, occupy mind and body. In the seventh, Sirenus and Silvanus lament the inconstancy of a shepherdess, Diana; then comes to them a shepherdess, Selvaggia, whose shepherd has been inconstant, and there is dialogue of the constancy in love of men and women. Which can be trusted most? In the eighth eclogue, Cornix sings to Corydon of love and praise to God—

"A God there is that guides the globe, and framed the fickle sphere,
And placéd hath the stars above that we do gaze on here,
By whom we live, unthankful beasts, by whom we have our health,
By whom we gain our happy states, by whom we get our wealth;
A God that sends us that we need, a God that us defends,
A God from whom the angels high on mortal men attends;
A God of such a clemency that whoso him doth love
Shall here be sure to rest a while, and always rest above."

Minor Poems.

Barnaby Googe's epitaphs are on Lord Sheffield, slain in a popular tumult (a piece written in Ercles' vein); on Master Shelley, killed in fight at Musselburgh; on Thomas Phaer, with highest praise of his translation of Virgil; and on Nicholas Grimald. That upon Grimald is written in ten-syllabled lines, and these also are split, while it is very clear that they were so divided after they were written. Unless there really were a

flea in question, would any rhyme begin, as Googe is made to begin "An Epytaphe of the Death of Nicholas Grimoald," with "Beholde this Fle-"! Here let us again note how the poet wrote, and how his lines were afterwards divided for the sake of fitting them to a small page, and also of spreading a few pieces over as many pages as would, in the stationer's opinion, make a little book—

> "Behold this fle | tyng world how al things fade,
> How euery thyng | doth passe and weare awaye:
> Each state of lyfe, | by comon course and trade,
> Abydes no tyme | but hath a passyng daye."

The rest of the piece has to be read back into this simple elegiac measure. Read as printed, it includes such lines as "Ne had the Mu-," "Nor had Maner-," "But Fortune fa-"—that last being the break in the line, "But Fortune favours Fools, as old men say." Among Googe's "Sonettes"—which are not sonnets in any technical sense, but short poems, various in size and form—we have an example of the old line of eight accents, not merely split in two, as it could fairly be, but cut into little quarters thus—

> 'The happiest life | that here we have | my Cobham if | I shall define,
> The goodliest state | twixt birth and grave | most gracious | days and sweetest time—"

Googe has verses of friendly praise to Dean Nowell; suggests to "good aged Bale" that he might rest his pen; praises the plays of Richard Edwards, of her Majesty's Chapel; writes about his unfinished "translation of Pallingen"; writes verses to which his friend Alexander Neville appends answers in verse; bids a jaunty farewell to "Maystresse A," who will not marry him; and writes respectfully to "Maystresse D"—that is, to Mary Darrell, who did become his wife in 1564 or 1565, after a sharp battle against her

dutiful assent to the endeavour of her parents to marry her into a richer family. Googe brought not only Sir William Cecil, but even Archbishop Parker to his aid, and, notwithstanding the wise counsel of his eclogues, he showed passion enough in his love.

But, next to the eclogues, the chief literary interest of Barnaby Googe's little volume lies in its longer poem of "Cupido Conquered," an allegory that stands very distinctly on the path from Chaucer to the "Faery Queene." The poet, in the time of hawthorn blossom, and surrounded by the song of birds, slept in the woods under a stately laurel, by a fountain that reflected sky and trees and birds. He slept, and Mercury, who came to him in a dream, gave him wings, took him through the air to a great castle, and there left him. It was the castle of Diana, painted with stories of the doom of lust. Therein sat the chaste queen, enthroned among her ladies, above whom was placed

"Cupido Conquered."

> "Hippolitus the unspotted pearl of pure Virginitie,
> Whose noble heart could not agree to stepdame's villanie.
> Next unto him sat Continence and next was Labour placed,
> Of body big and strong he was, and somewhat crabtree faced,
> Next him was placéd Abstinence, a lean unwieldy wight,
> Whose diet thin had banished clean all fond and vain delight."

A messenger brought tidings of a mighty prince with a great army who was invading the realm of Diana, and who shot her servants down with poisoned arrows. Hippolitus knew Cupid by the description, and was sent out as chieftain to resist and conquer him. He took Abstinence, Continence, and Labour as his captains. The dreamer followed the march of the army of Diana till they reached the plain where Cupid was encamped. The first that marched from Cupid's camp was drowsy Idleness, next followed Excess—

> "A lubbour great, mishapen most of all that there I saw,
> As much I thynk in quantitie as horses syxe can draw,

A myghty face both broad and flat and all with rubies set,
Muche noséd like a turky cock, with teth as blacke as get,
A belye byg, full trust with guts, and pestels two like postes,
A knaue full square in euery poynt, a prince of dronken oostes.
Vpon a camell couchéd hye, for horse coulde none hym beare,
A mighty staffe in hande he had, his foes a farre to feare.
Behynd them all, the blynded god doth com in charyot fayre,
With ragyng flames flong rounde about he pestres all the ayre,
And after hym for tryumphe leades a thousande wounded harts
That gush abrode hot streams of blud, new perséd with his dartes.'

We may add a piece like this to Stephen Hawes's "Pastime of Pleasure" and "Example of Virtue," Dunbar's "Golden Terge" and "Dance of the Seven Deadly Sins," and Sackville's "Induction," as illustration of that form of allegorical literature which, after the days of "The House of Fame" and "The Vision of Piers Plowman," marked the course of art in the direction of Spenser's "Faerie Queene." Cupid, of course, was conquered, and the dreamer woke to find himself again under the laurel shade beside the fountain in the wood.

Barnaby Googe published, also, in 1570, a translation of a large Latin poem against the whole ceremonial and life of Rome, the *Regnum Papisticum*, which had been published by Thomas Kirchmayer in 1553. Kirchmayer had begun his career, some fifteen years earlier, with the famous Latin drama, "Pammachius," that set forth the Pope as Antichrist in the person of Pope Pammachius, who, when the Emperor Julian ceased to persecute him, gave up Christianity and went into alliance with the devil.* John Bale entered, among works of his

Other Works.

* The student will find account of Kirchmayer, and of many other German writers who had influence on English literature, in a very scholarly book published at the Cambridge University Press in 1886, "Studies of the Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century, by Charles H. Herford, M.A., D.Litt.," who is now Professor of English Language and Literature at Aberystwith. The

own, a translation of "Pammachius," but this has not come down to us. To the translation of the *Regnum Papisticum* Googe added a translation of Kirchmayer's *Agricultura Sacra*, or Book of Spiritual Husbandry, which deals with the sowing of the good seed, its culture in the home wholesome with flowers and books and above all the Bible, its culture by the pulpit, and the difficulties that beset the preacher's husbandry.

Barnaby Googe published also, in 1577, a translation of the *Rei Rusticæ, Libri IV.*, by Conrad of Heresbach, who had died in the preceding year. Heresbach had been tutor, and afterwards trusted counsellor, of the Duke of Juliers. In 1579, Googe published also a translation of the Spanish Proverbs collected by Inez Lopez de Mendoza, Marquis of Santillana. The collection was first published by the Marquis of Santillana in 1508. It contained a hundred proverbs in rhyme, and six hundred taken from the lips of the people, as they were used, he said, by the old women in their chimney corners. It was this collection that first gave to the proverbial wisdom in which Spain always had excelled a corner of its own in Spanish literature. Barnaby Googe died at Alvingham, in the house of his fathers, in February, 1594, leaving a son Matthew, twenty-eight years old, to continue the succession.

George Turbervile.

We pass now to George Turbervile, whose translation of Mantuan's eight eclogues Spenser must have read before he wrote "The Shepheardes Calender." He was a younger son of Nicholas Turbervile, of Whitchurch, in Dorsetshire, five miles from Bridport. He was educated at Winchester School and New College, Oxford. He went to an inn of court, won credit for his verses, and was taken as secretary by Thomas Randolph

seven chapters of Dr. Herford's book treat of Lyrics, Polemical Dialogues, the Latin Drama, the Faustus Cycle, the Ulenspiegel Cycle, the Ship of Fools, Grobianus and Grobianism.

when he went as Queen Elizabeth's ambassador to Russia for the advancement of trade. In 1553 Richard Chancellor, captain of the *Bonaventure*, had been separated from Sir Hugh Willoughby's expedition in search of a North-East Passage to India, had entered the White Sea, and travelled overland to Moscow, where he was well received and made a treaty of free trade for English ships. His report of his doings after his return led to the formation of the Muscovy Company. Chancellor visited Moscow again in the winter of 1555, but was lost on his way home by the wreck of his ship off the coast of Scotland in November, 1556. Thus the opening of trade with Russia became one of the interests of England, to which Queen Elizabeth attended so well that in 1579 Ivan the Terrible proposed to marry her. In 1568 Turbervile published a small collection of poems describing the places and manners of the country and people of Russia. He wrote letters from Russia "To his especiall Frende, master Edwarde Dancier," "To Spencer," and "To Parker"; but the "Spencer" was not, as has been sometimes supposed, Spenser the poet. Turbervile, who did not like the Russians, ended his letter "To Spencer" thus, with a reserved frankness—

> "To this I make an end; none other news to thee
> But that the country is too cold, the people beastly be.
> I write not all I know, I touch but here and there,
> For if I should, my pen would pinch and eke offend I fear.
> Whoso shall read this verse, conjecture of the rest,
> And think, by reason of our trade, that I do think the best.
> But if no traffic were, then could I boldly pen
> The hardness of the soil and eke the manners of the men."

In 1567 appeared "The Heroical Epistles of the learned poet Publius Naso in English verse, set out and translated by George Turbervile gentleman, with Aulus Sabinus answer to certain of the same." Six of the epistles are in blank verse, the others in septenars. In the same

year with this translation from Ovid appeared also Turbervile's translation of the Eclogues of Mantuan, and upon Mantuan Spenser founds three of the eclogues in his "Shepheardes Calender." Battista Spagnoli was born in the year 1448 at Mantua, for which reason, when he took a foremost place in Italy among the Latin poets of the Renaissance, he wrote himself Baptista Mantuanus, and is known in literature by that name. He was a man of great ability who became General of the Order of the Carmelites; but he quitted the Order, and, although he did not forsake the faith of his Church, his Latin poems contain vigorous attacks on its corruptions.* The works of Mantuan, as printed in the author's lifetime at Bologna, in 1502, form a folio of 389 leaves, of which the eclogues occupy but twenty-six leaves and a page. Mantuan wrote also six books of "Sylvæ," a book of epigrams, three books on the Calamities of the Times in which he lived, long poems on the Virgin, on St. Catherine, with other illustrations of purity in woman (a large offset, by the way, to his fourth eclogue), and other works, including a "Trophœum" for the expulsion of the French from Italy. Mantuan died on the twentieth of March, 1516. His best poems, which are not his longest, were read and admired in England, where his attacks upon corruption in the Roman Church strengthened the hands of the Reformers. His eclogues were read in schools, and Thomas Farnaby said that the

Eclogues of Mantuan.

* He closed a poem, *In Romam bellis tumultuantem*, with the lines—

"Vivere qui sancte cupitis, discedite: Romæ,
Omnia cum liceant, non licet esse bonum."

and in the third book of his poem, *De Suorum Temporum Calamitatibus*, he said of his corrupted Church—

"venalia nobis
Templa, sacerdotes, altaria, sacra, coronæ,
Ignes, thura, preces, Cœlum est venale, Deusque."

first words of the first eclogue, *Fauste, precor, gelidâ*, were dearer to pedants than Virgil's *Arma virumque cano.* Shakespeare, accordingly, in "Love's Labour's Lost," * made his pedant schoolmaster, Holofernes, show his erudition with "'*Fauste, precor, gelidâ quando pecus omne sub umbrâ Ruminat,*'" and so forth. "Ah, good old Mantuan! I may speak of thee as the traveller doth of Venice,

'*Venetia, Venetia,*
Chi non ti vede, non ti pretia.'

Old Mantuan! old Mantuan! Who understandeth thee not, loves thee not. *Ut, re, sol, la, mi, fa.*"

Turbervile's translation was entitled "The Eglogs of the Poet B. Mantuan Carmelitan, Turned into English Verse, and set forth with the Argument to euery Egloge by George Turbervile Gent. Anno 1567. Imprinted at London in Pater noster Rowe at the signe of the Marmayde, by Henrie Bynneman."

The Arguments are in Alexandrine couplets, divided into four lines; the translation is into divided septenars, sometimes alternating with lines of eight accents that also are divided; and here also the occasional splitting of a word—as "Moy-" at the end of one line and "-ses" at the beginning of the next—indicates that the verse was formed in the old popular measure, which was only on its way to reconstruction. The reconstruction is for the first time complete in Spenser's July eclogue, which was written in short lines formed by division of the septenar, with the sense fitted so perfectly to the new form of the measure that there is no trace to be found of a rough breakage. Turbervile's Arguments to Mantuan's eclogues are in the form resembling that which Spenser afterwards used in Arguments to cantos of "The Faerie Queene." They are of differing length, but several of them are in four lines, as in the third—

* Act iv., sc. 2.

"The Tylmàn's wearye toyle
and troublous life he splays,
And lost Amyntas' cruell foyle
by franticke Love bewrayes."

There are but four lines each in the Arguments to the sixth, seventh, and ninth eclogues. This is the Argument before the ninth—

"Here Faustus, having truly tryde
the nature of the Roman grounde,
The vileness of the soil and shep-
herds' filthy manners doth expound."

Of Mantuan's ten eclogues, the first—between Faustus and Fortunatus—describes the state of an honest shepherd who seeks and who wins his chosen shepherdess for wife. In the second, Fortunatus tells Faustus of the insane passion of Amyntas, and the third tells of its miserable end. The fourth eclogue, between Alphus and Janus, is on the Nature of Women, and contains just such a recital as that with which her husband, Jankin, broke the patience of the Wife of Bath. The fifth of Mantuan's eclogues, between Sylvanus and Candidus, is on the Ways of the Rich towards Poets, which was expanded, as we have seen, by Alexander Barclay.* It includes a passage on the Court of Rome, which Turbervile translates into these lines—

CANDIDUS: "A pittance would suffice,
I covet not to flowe,
O let me live withouten care,
The Roman Court I knowe.
O Silvan, what avails
That place so poor a wight?
Augustus long ago is dead,
In dampe of darksome night
He woons and stayes in Hell.
If Rome do ought expend

* "E. W." vii. 105.

Its trifles, Rome receives the golde
And woords for ware doth lende.
Alas, for now alone
At Rome doth money raigne,
Dame Vertue liues a weary life,
Exylde she bydes the paine."

The sixth eclogue, between Cornix and Fulica, is that *de disceptatione Rusticorum et Civium*, on which Barclay founded his fifth eclogue of "The Cytezen and the Vplondyshman";* the seventh, between Alphus and Galbula, was of the turning of the young towards Religion. The eighth eclogue, between Candidus and Alphus, compares life on the hills and on the plains, and sets forth the religion of the shepherds, with their simple worship of the Virgin; the ninth, between Faustulus and Candidus, is on the evil customs of the Court of Rome; the tenth figures disputes among Franciscan Friars, Observantists and Conventuals—the strict and the lax.

Spenser's "Shepheardes Calender."

In fashioning the music of "The Shepheardes Calender," Spenser wrote as a young poet versed in books—not less familiar with the Idylls of Theocritus and Bion and the Bucolics of Virgil than with the eclogues of Mantuan and Marot. But he took his own way, though his "Calendar"† abundantly received the influence of predecessors on its matter and its style. In the first place, there were to be twelve eclogues, corresponding to the twelve months of the year. Colin Clout, upon a sunny day in January, finds winter's rage within his heart, and sees the tear-drops on the naked trees. Cuddy complains of the keen cold in February, and argument springs

* "E. W." vii. 105–108.

† Spenser wrote Calen*der*. The modern spelling, etymologically right, is Calen*dar*, from "Calendarium," in which were noted the Calends, or Kalends. A Calender is a machine for smoothing cloth, and when used in this sense the word is allied to cylinder.

then between youth and age from his complaint that flowering youth is foe to frost. In March, love-talk arises to allay "the bitter blast" of the March winds—

> "For Winter's wrath begins to quell
> And pleasant Spring appeareth;
> The grass now gins to be refresht,
> The swallow peeps out of her nest,
> And cloudy welkin cleareth."

The April eclogue opens with a shepherd's tears, and the suggestion of eyes attempered to the year, for the tears come "like April showers." "The merry month of May" suggests young shepherds pleasant with the gladness of the season; while the old men's talk of Maying leads to argument against forsaking duty for the pleasures of the world. And so, throughout, the changing seasons are associated with the verse until mournful November suggests grief for the dead; and in December the whole round is closed with a comparison between the changing seasons and the course of life. In this way Spenser gave oneness to the series of eclogues. They dealt with life as mirrored in the speech of shepherds who were subject, like life, to the changes of the year.

Next we may note that Spenser's Eclogues are not in one measure. The young poet tried his skill in them upon a dozen or more forms of verse, even including, in the August eclogue, a *sestina* or sixtine* ("Ye wasteful woods," &c.), and he knew how to make each reed in his pipe speak music. Probably, some parts of the Calendar were independent pieces, written by Spenser in college days as exercises in his art, and woven afterwards into the texture of "The Shepheardes Calender." The song in praise of Queen Elizabeth, the fable of The Oak and the Brere, for example, may have been thus written before "The

* "E. W." iv. 163, 164.

Shepheardes Calender" was planned. Spenser looked back with reverence to Chaucer as the Master Poet, and studied his simplicity of speech. The Oak and the Brere may have been at first chiefly an exercise in writing, as Chaucer wrote, with homely words, well weighed. This reverence for Chaucer—Tityrus—is declared in Spenser's first work, and in his later life we shall see how reverently he built a shrine for Chaucer in "The Faerie Queene." When, in the February eclogue, Thenot asks of Cuddy—

> " shall I tell thee a tale of truth
> Which I cond of Tityrus in my youth,
> Keeping his sheep on the hills of Kent ? "

Cuddy replies—

> " To none more, Thenot, my mind is bent
> Than to hear novels of his devise :
> They ben so well thewéd and so wise
> Whatever that good old man bespake."

In the June eclogue, Colin laments the death of Tityrus, from whom he learnt how to write such verse as he can. To "make" was the old word for writing poems—

> " The God of Shepherds, Tityrus is dead,
> Who taught me homely, as I can, to make :
> He, while he livéd, was the sovereign head
> Of shepherds all that ben with love ytake."
>
> . . . . . .
>
> " Now dead he is, and lieth wrapt in lead,—
> O why should Death on him such outrage show,—
> And all his passing skill is with him fled,
> The fame whereof doth daily greater grow.
> But if on me some little drops would flow
> Of that the spring was in his learnéd head,
> I soon would learn these woods to wail my woe,
> And teach the trees their trickling tears to shed." *

* The structure of this eight-lined stanza illustrates what I have said of the variety of measure in "The Shepherd's Calendar." It is the

Spenser is the second of our English Master Poets, and he drew strength, throughout life, from the study of his predecessor. No change that time had wrought in form and matter should cloud our perception of the fact that Spenser kept his style in health by making Chaucer its physician.

Before commenting further on these eclogues, we must take into companionship "E. K.," their first editor. He was a college friend of Spenser's, of like age, and newly graduated. As a friend, he would know facts that belonged to the outward and visible life of Spenser, but perception of the inner life, helped as it might be by many a free argument in college rooms, depended on himself. A true artist, whether young or old, will leave his work to speak in its own language to those who have ears to hear. It is enough if he has put his soul into his work. Let others find it there: he cannot be its showman. Of the mind of Spenser in "The Shepherd's Calendar," E. K. knew nothing by direct interpretation from his friend, and even from some part of what he could not help seeing and knowing—namely, his friend's disagreement from the queen's opinion in Church questions—he did what he could, in his friend's interests, to divert attention.

In November, 1571, Edward Kirke entered Pembroke Hall, at the age of eighteen, like Spenser, as a sizar. Spenser had entered two years and a half earlier, in May, 1569. Kirke, who removed from Pembroke Hall to Gonville and Caius College, in graduation was by two years his friend's junior. Spenser commenced M.A. in 1576, and Kirke in 1578, the year before the publication of "The Shepherd's Calendar." Kirke shared Spenser's goodwill to Gabriel Harvey, whom younger Cambridge men seem to have then regarded as the leader of their literary set, and Kirke had also

chant royal, sweetened by repeating in the second and fourth line of the second quatrain the rhyme in the first and third line of the first. Instead of *a b a b*, *b c b c*, it is *a b a b*, *b a b a*.

a large and absolute faith in the genius of his friend Spenser. Having graduated in 1578, he seems to have been at home in London when Spenser—in Leicester's service—was in London too. Perhaps the Mistresse Kirke of Spenser's letters at this time, through whom he wished letters and parcels to be sent, was his friend's widowed mother, who may have kept an inn in London with which a carrier was associated, and Edward Kirke may have been staying with her while waiting to take his next step in life, in friendly intercourse with Spenser, who was planning then the anonymous publication of "The Shepherd's Calendar," and was willing enough to let E. K. help to make a volume of it. It would be set forth with his learned, not to say pedantic, gloss, according to the fashion of the critics in his day; this would be welcome to the polite reader, such as he then was. It was pleasant also to the poet that there would go with his verse the friendly comment of a young enthusiasm in sincerest recognition of his genius. He was glad of that, although he signed himself "Immerito."

Edward Kirke took orders in the Church, and was instituted, on the twenty-sixth of May, 1580, on the presentation of Sir Thomas Kytson, to the Rectory of Risby, in Suffolk. This was only half a year after he had shown his parts as editor of "the new poet." The account book of Sir Thomas Kytson shows that he paid a shilling for a "Shepheardes Calender" in 1583. In 1587 he was able to improve Edward Kirke's position by presenting him to the adjacent living of Lackford. Edward Kirke died parson of Risby, as his gravestone records, on the tenth of November, 1613, aged sixty, and his will remains to show that he had married and prospered, and that he had two married daughters, one of whom made him grandfather to three children.* As he was sixty when he

* Grosart's "Spenser," vol. iii., pp. cviii.–cxiv. "Notes and Queries," 3rd series, vol. vii., p. 509. Kirke received as a poor Bachelor of Arts of Gonville and Caius College, on the fourteenth of May,

died in 1613, we know his age to have been twenty-six in 1579, when Spenser's age, if he was born in 1552, was twenty-seven.

The first edition of "The Shepheardes Calender" was published at the end of the year 1579. It was entered in the Stationers' Register as licensed to Hugh Singleton on the fifth of December, and the book then published was assigned over to John Harrison on the twenty-ninth of October, 1580. It was a small quarto, with this upon its title-page:—"The Shepheardes Calender Conteyning tvvelue Æglogues proportionable to the twelue monethes. Entitled to the noble and vertuous Gentleman most worthy of all titles both of learning and cheualrie M. Philip Sidney. At London. Printed by Hugh Singleton, dwelling in Creede Lane neere vnto Ludgate at the signe of the gylden Tunne, and are there to be solde. 1579." The second edition, printed "for Iohn Harison the younger, dwelling in Pater noster Roe, at the signe of the Anker," was a complete reprint in 1581. There was a third edition in 1586 and a fourth in 1591, both published by John Harrison the younger.

Eighteen lines of dedication, signed "Immerito," bid the book present itself to Sidney, who is named only upon the title-page,

> "As child whose parent is unkent
> To him that is the president
> Of noblesse and of chivalre,"

and they end with a promise of more verse to follow. E. K. then, in an "Epistle Dedicatory," begins by applying to his friend, from Chaucer's "Troilus and Cressida," the phrase, "unkist, unkent." While unknown to most men, he is regarded but of a few. "But I doubt not, so soon as his

1575, ten shillings from Dean Nowell out of his brother Robert's money. His identification with "E. K," of "The Shepherd's Calendar" rests upon such strong evidence of probability that it is usually taken without question, although not proved conclusively.

name shall come into the knowledge of men, and his worthiness be sounded in the trump of Fame, but that he shall be not only kist, but also beloved of all, embraced of the most, and wondered at of the best. No less, I think, deserveth his wittiness in devising, his pithiness in uttering, his complaints of love so lovely, his discourses of pleasure so pleasantly, his pastoral rudeness, his moral wiseness, his due observing of decorum every where, in persons, in seasons, in matter, in speech, and generally in all seemly simplicity of handling his matters, and framing his Words." Then he goes on to speak at length of the poet's use of old words, and his reasons in art for the use of them. It will be a chief part of E. K.'s work in his glosses to explain them. He dwells also upon the well-knit sentences and upon Spenser's use of eclogue: "So flew Theocritus as you may perceive he was already full fledged. So flew Virgil, as not yet well feeling his wings. So flew Mantuan, as not yet being full summed. So Petrarch, so Boccace, so Marot, Sannazarus, and also diverse other excellent both Italian and French poets, whose footing this author everywhere followeth: yet so as few, but they be well scented, can trace him out." Presently E. K. distinctly says that it is not his intention to interpret the main purpose of the work: "Now as touching the general drift and purpose of his Æglogues, I mind not to say much, himself laboring to conceal it." They who had eyes would see. E. K. did not wish many to see much of opinions that might shut his friend out from Court favour. He glanced off to the safe subject of love, and fixed the reader's mind as much as possible on that. From what lay below the surface he even endeavoured to divert attention. But he has told in this "Epistle Dedicatory" that by Tityrus Chaucer was meant, and that the poet meant himself by Çolin Clout.

Young Spenser's sympathy was with the Puritan in the Elizabethan Church. He took his stand in "The Shepheardes Calender" openly enough against the queen's manner of

dealing with Archbishop Grindal. He read the best of our old poets, followed in their steps, and even closed "The Shepheardes Calender" with exaltation of Chaucer and Langland—

> "Dare not to match thy pipe with Tityrus his style,
> Nor with the Pilgrim that the Ploughman played awhile:
> But follow them far off, and their high steps adore.
> The better please, the worse despise: I ask no more."

He had read Skelton's bold denunciation of Church worldliness, and from Skelton's Colin Clout, who spoke the ills he knew as one of the common people, Spenser took the name by which he called himself in all his poems. Edward Kirke, who must often have heard his friend fervent in argument, is careful to divert attention from the full significance of this choice of a name. "Colin Clout," he says, in his "Glosse" to the first eclogue, "is a name not greatly used, and yet have I seen a poesie of M. Skelton's under that title. But indeed the word of Colin is French, and used of the French poet Marot (if he be worthie of the name of a poet) in a certain Eclogue: Under which name this poet secretly shadoweth himself, as sometime did Virgil under the name of Tityrus, thinking it much fitter than such Latin names, for the great unlikelihood of the language." In this manner E. K. always crosses the scent when he would keep sharp noses off the track of his friend's Puritanism.

Spenser's use of old English words was in "The Shepheardes Calender" designed for simple shepherd's speech, and to attune his English with the Doric of Theocritus. But E. K. was right in suggesting that Spenser sought to recover to his mother tongue some of her own wealth that had been exchanged—as he thought, unprofitably—for foreign garniture. Throughout Elizabeth's reign the expansion of thought caused effort in many directions to enlarge the means for its expression. The language was enriched;—a larger house required more furniture. New words were

shaped from Latin and from other tongues, of which some proved their value; others, after a short trial, were rejected. Spenser saw a neglected source of wealth in the recovery or retention of native English words that had died out, or were seldom used. His part, therefore, in the general effort to increase the wealth and power of the language was to keep our native English from decay. He found excuse now in the rusticity of shepherds, afterwards in the antique form of ancient tales of chivalry, for constant illustration of the force and beauty of old homely words that had been dropped. He proved the grace and strength that could be put into a line of little words, home grown, and mostly of one syllable. In doing this he chose the words that were to his own ear homeliest; his archaic English is the speech of his own kinsmen in East Lancashire.*

Spenser's first eclogue is, of course, of love. The first Idyll of Theocritus is the lament for Daphnis, the dead lover. Mantuan began with shepherd's love—the happy first, then the unhappy. So Colin Clout, in the first eclogue of "The Shepheardes Calender," laments that Rosalind will not be won.

That a young poet of fine sensibility should reach the age of six-and-twenty without having sighed for a fair maiden is against the course of nature, and it would be somewhat against the course of custom if he married the first maiden for whom he sighed. E. K. says there was a real Rosalind—a real experience of thwarted love fancy—in Spenser's mind when he wrote about love in "The Shepheardes Calender." So be it. The love passages were necessary to the pastorals, and would have been there as surely if there had been no experience to found them on.

* Dr. Grosart—himself resident at Blackburn—has especially rejoiced in showing this. Many of his instances are of words too widely diffused to prove anything, but the whole body of evidence is irresistible. See Appendix to his "Life of Spenser," pp. 408–421.

E. K. goes farther, and says of Spenser that the feigned name of Rosalind, "being well ordered, will bewray the very name of his love and mistress whom by that name he coloureth." Here is a temptation to make anagrams for the discovery of what is not worth knowing. Spenser's substantial love and marriage came later in life. Antiquarian researches into love's young dream are solid idleness. In the April eclogue, where love again comes into question, Hobbinol regrets the smart suffered by Colin Clout, "the southern shepherd's boy," who woos Rosalind, "the widow's daughter of the glen." Hereby, E. K. says, "seemeth that Colin pertaineth to some southern nobleman"—as Spenser, in fact, was then in the service of Leicester—and, says E. K., "He calleth Rosalind 'the widow's daughter of the glen' . . . which I think is rather said to colour and conceal the person than simply spoken. For it is well known, even in spite of Colin and Hobbinol, that she is a gentlewoman of no mean house, nor endued with any vulgar and common gifts, both of nature and manner." E. K. says that he knows. Must we suppose Spenser's fancy to have been caught since he left his barren hills and came into the parts where richer shepherds dwell? But in the Argument of the June eclogue, E. K. calls her "a country lass," as in the eclogue itself Colin tells Hobbinol how he sang of love when he was young among these hills. He says that when yet he walked "withouten links of love," he sought for his Rosalind "queen apples unripe"—might not they, if she ate many, set her against him?—crowned her also with garlands, till love came, then loss, with wrath against

> "Menalcas, that by treachery
> Didst underfong my lass."

If we are to read this into Spenser's life, Rosalinde represents a companion of boyhood. She was, after all, a Lancashire lass, and there arises the momentous question, Who

was Menalcas? As for Rosalinde, an old editor of Spenser —Ralph Church, in 1758—taking the hint that this word contained the real name, exercised his genius so far as to suggest that her real name was Rose Linde, for he found there was a John Linde living in Kent in the reign of Henry VI. Ralph Church must have wanted a week's rest after the toil of making that discovery. There was also in the time of Henry VI. a Thomas Horden living in Kent, and Malone suggested as the anagram for Rosalinde, Elisa Horden. The Reverend N. J. Halpin read Rosalinde by anagram into Rose Daniel, and found in her the poet Daniel's sister Rose, who jilted Spenser for John Florio. That being so, Florio was Menalcas. But that was not so. Daniel had not a sister Rose. Florio's second wife was a Rose, but her maiden name had been Rose Spicer. Mr. Fleay has inferred from Drayton's way of including "the widow's daughter of the glen, Dear Rosalynde," in his ninth eclogue, among imagined ladies on the Cotswold Hills, that Rosalynde lived in the Vale of Evesham, where Camden mentions only one family—that of the Dinleies of Charlton. Rosalinde is, by this theory, Rose Dinlei. Dr. Grosart, looking to Spenser's neighbours in the north, had found a Dineley family living in Spenser's time in the Spenser country, near Clitheroe. He, therefore, suggests Clitheroe as "the neighbour town" that Colin Clout wished he had not visited, and Rose Dineley as the name of the damsel whom he there first met. Many are the permutations of nine letters. We can even get out of Rosalinde the anagram, "No Ladie," with two letters remaining to initial it as "R. S."—Right Solution. No doubt there was a lady, but she was as good as none, though E. K. made the most of her, while he proudly said that, "as touching the general drift and purpose of the Eclogues, he minded not to say much," as the poet himself laboured to conceal it. Spenser wrote in these eclogues parables not hard to understand.

E. K. feared lest they might stay his advancement, and in all good will to his friend, so far as comment went, he sought to draw attention from them. So he made the most of the conventional love element in the eclogues, supplied the critics with good store of husks to thresh, and did what he could to hide the grain.

What was, then, "the general drift and purpose of the Eclogues" of which E. K. was not minded to say much, and of which, indeed, he said nothing for any other purpose than to minimise attention to it? It was the zealous utterance of the young poet's mind on the most burning questions of the day. As Mantuan had dealt in pastoral form with the corruptions of Rome, following a tendency of the Italians, since Petrarch's time, to use pastorals for satire on corruptions of life, so Clement Marot had used the pastoral in France as a distinct aid in the war against corruptions of religion. His faithful and unfaithful shepherds were the faithful and unfaithful pastors of the Church. Marot's good shepherd was the ideal of the Huguenots in France; and Spenser learnt chiefly from him to put into the form of eclogue the ideal of the Puritans in England.

Clement Marot was born about the year 1496, and died in 1544, when Edmund Spenser was a boy of twelve. Marot, in 1518, was valettus in the service of Marguerite of Alençon. In 1521 he served in the army of the Duke d'Alençon. In 1524 he was wounded at the battle of Pavia, and held for a short time prisoner of war. In 1525 he was imprisoned as a Lutheran, and declared in verse that he was no sectary, but a simple Christian: "I am of God, through his son Jesus Christ." He was thus a prisoner throughout the year 1526, and for a part of the year 1527, singing in his cage with a light heart. He was no partisan of any formula that would restrict his faith, but used his ready wit in his own way for the support of those who sought a purer life, a simpler spirit of communion in the Christian

Church and in men calling themselves Christians. Thus Marot was Puritan in Spenser's sense, and was, like Spenser, artist too. He put new music into French poetry, and restored to it the old charm of a frank simplicity, clear truth, the very voice of Nature, which is first condition of the highest art. Nature in him was the good nature that can thank God for the sun while clouds are passing and the day turns dark. Ill-natured adversaries gave him a bad name, and because he was of no man's party he had not a body of defenders. Orthodoxy was against him—persecuted and reviled him. It was no part of the battling of the Huguenots to clear the witty poet's good name from aspersions. He was not one of them. Marot, to them, was only a light-hearted singer, with a smile when he should rage or frown, who lived cheerfully, according to his own confession—

> "Point ne suis Lutheriste,
> Ne Zuinglien, et moins Anabaptiste,
> Je suis de Dieu, par son fils Jesus Christ."

He claimed to be a true son of the Church, and therefore free to aid in saving her from the corruptions of the world.

A few weeks after his release from prison at Chartres Marot was admitted into the household of Francis I. as valettus. The king delighted in his lively songs. Marot set the Psalms of David to words that the courtiers learnt to sing, and afterwards the Calvinists adopted. Imprisonment followed again, and, after prison, sickness. Upon the death of the king's mother, Louise of Savoy, Marot wrote, in 1531, that elegy of which Spenser's November eclogue is a paraphrase. In 1534, Marot went in exile to Ferrara. In 1535 his goods were confiscated, and he was condemned, in absence, to the stake. In 1536 he passed as exile from Ferrara to Venice. Then he returned to France, and in 1537 was in favour again at Court. But again he was driven into exile. He went, in 1543, to Geneva, and in 1544 to

Piedmont, where he died. Marot's motto—first used in 1532 on the title-page and after the preface of his collection of poems called "The Clementine Adolescence," and always afterwards retained—was *La Mort ny Mord.* Spenser adopted it as Colin's—that is to say, his own—motto after the November eclogue, and he chose in like spirit his motto to the December eclogue, *Vivitur ingenio, cætera mortis erunt.* The use of mottoes was a literary fashion of the time. In 1531 there was published, by Simon du Bois of Alençon, Marguerite of Navarre's "Mirror of a Sinful Soul." That is a poem which Queen Elizabeth translated into English prose before she became queen, and of which her translation was given to the press by Bishop Bale. Marguerite placed for motto at the head of her *Mirror* the text, "Create in me a clean heart, O God"; and her closing motto, after the chief poem and after appended pieces, is "To God only be the praise."

Thenot, in the February eclogue, is a pastoral name taken from Marot, who is said to have borrowed it from a contemporary poet, Thenot of Provence. There are some resemblances in the matter of that second eclogue of Spenser's to the sixth of Mantuan.* The countryman and

* Mantuan wrote—

"Pauperiem declarat hyems. Improvida certe
Turba sumus juvenes, securi æstate vagamur
Immemores hyemis. Nostrum æs tibicinis omne est.
Ut redit e Scythia Boreas, nidosque volucrum
Frondibus ostendit nudata cadentibus arbor,
Frigemus nudi scapulas, dorsum, ilia, plantas.
Stultitiam declarat hyems."

Hence the passage in Spenser's second eclogue beginning, "So loytring live you little heard groomes." The student will find this and other parallels pointed out in the ninth volume of *Anglia* (1886) by Dr. O. Reissert, of Hanover, in his *Bemerkungen über Spenser's Shepheards Calendar und die frühere Bukolik* (pp. 205–224), which is

Cupid in the March eclogue have come out of the second Idyll of Bion. The pastoral song in praise of Queen Elizabeth is, for good reason, the chief matter of the April eclogue. It is musical with a true spirit of loyalty, avoiding all reference to policy, and giving only the sweet incense of a poet's praise. It is cleverly placed where it stands, immediately before the first utterance of sympathy with Archbishop Grindal, against whom the queen had exercised her power.* That honest utterance appears in the May eclogue, which has some inspiration from Marot's rustic eclogue, *La Complainte d'un Pastoreau Chrestien*, but deals with the condition of the English Church. Spenser, like Marot, speaks of shepherds, meaning pastors of Christ's flock, and of Pan for God, and goes out of his way to cite the authority of Grindal, with no other disguise than an inversion of the two syllables, Grindal, into Algrind—

> "Ah, Palinode, thou art a worldes child,
> Who touches pitch mought needes be defiled,
> But Shepheards, as Algrind used to say,
> Mought not live ylike as men of the lay.
> . . . . . .
> The time was once and may again retorne
> (For aught may happen that hath bene beforne)
> When Shepheards had none inheritance,
> Ne of land nor fee in sufferance,
> But what might arise of the bare sheepe,
> Were it more or less, which they did keepe.
> Well ywis was it with the shepheards tho:
> Nought having, nought feared they to forego,
> For Pan himself was their inheritance
> And little them served for their maintenance,

supplementary to a paper in the third volume of *Anglia* (1880), by Dr. F. Kluge of Strasburg, on *Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar und Mantuan's Eclogen*. These two papers are of substantial value to the student of "The Shepherd's Calendar."

* "E. W." viii. 332–334.

The Shepheards God so well them guided
That of nought they were unprovided,
Butter enough, honie, milk and whay,
And their flocks fleeces them to aray.
But tract of time and long prosperitie—
That nource of vice, this of insólencie—
Lulled the Shepheards in such securitie
That not content with loyall obeysánce
Some gan to gape for greedie governance,
And match themselfe with mightie potentates,
Lovers of lordship and troublers of states.
Tho gan shepheards swaines to looke aloft,
And leave to live hard, and learn to ligge soft,
Tho under colour of Shepheards somewhile
There crept in Wolves full of fraud and guile,
That often devouréd their owne sheepe
And often the Shepheards that did them keepe.
This was the first source of Shepheards' sorrow,
That now nill be quit with baile or borrow."

Here E. K. briefly glosses Algrind as "the name of a shepherd," and turns the Argument into complaint against the Church of Rome. In the July eclogue, where Grindal —Algrind—is again quoted as an old shepherd who showed the way to God, Aylmer or Elmer, which has for another form Elmore, is brought into question. He was then Bishop of London, carrying out the queen's Church policy, and he was one of those to whom was entrusted the execution of the functions of the Archbishop, disgraced for his sympathy with the best aims of the Puritan clergy. It is he now who has the syllables of his name transposed, and he is introduced at once as Morrel, with Thomalin's question about him—

"Is not thilke same a goteheard prowde
that sits on yonder bancke;
Whose *straying heard* themself doth shrowde
Emong the bushes rancke?"

Then Morrell cries to Thomalin—

"What ho, thou jolly shepheards swaine,
Come up the Hill to mee:
Better is than the lowly plaine,
Als for thy flocke and thee."

The hill is the high place—the Bishop's see. It was said that Aylmer, as he rose, "ceased to inveigh against the superfluities of Churchmen and was much taunted therefor." He was so unpopular that when he went once to a visitation his cap was knocked from his head, as if by accident, and tossed about among the people under pretence of throwing it to him again. Morrell pleads for the high places, and Spenser applies to his own country the parable of Mantuan's Argument in his seventh eclogue, with some use of the eighth. Here is a piece of Turbervile's translation of Mantuan's eighth eclogue, which has for the Argument of its first part—

"Two Shepherds met yfere,
one liked the Mountains most,
And tother did commend the Vale
above the hilly coast."

Alphus invites Candidus to the shadow of the hills, and he replies—

"Yea, yea, I see the hills afar
and haughty mountains high:
But, to be plain, what of the hills
to make, I know not, I,
For from my cradle custom was
with me to feed my sheep
In vale below, by river's side
to dwell, and flocks to keep."

Candidus then abuses vales and praises hills—

"What soil brings forth the lofty mast?
where grows the physic grass,
And herbs to cure diseases fell
if not in hilly place?

I sundry times on Baldus mount
the bearfoot gathered have,
Which goats diseased from force of death
is ready way to save.
So Ægon erst to me declared.
. . . . . .
Besides this eke the way is short
from top of hills to sky;
Up to the azure clouds they reach,
and some do stand so high
As verily I deem they touch
the golden stars well nigh."

So Spenser's Morrell says, from his hill, to Thomalin—

"Here grows melampode everywhere
and terebinth good for gotes;
The one my madding kids to smere,
the next to heale their throtes.
Hereto, the hilles bene nigher heaven,
and thence the passage eath:
As well can proove the pearcing levin
that seldome falles beneath."

To which Thomalin gives Spenser's answer as an English Puritan—

"Siker thou speakest like a lewde lorell
of heaven to demen so:
Howbe I am but rude and borell,
yet nearer wayes I know.
To kirke the narre to God more farre,
has bene an old said saw:
And he that strives to touch a starre
oft stumbles at a straw."

Shepherds of old "were of the best, and lived in lowly leas"—

"Such one he was, as I have heard
old Algrind often saine,
That whilome was the first shepheard,
and lived with little gaine;

And meeke he was, as meeke mought be
simple, as simple sheepe,
Humble, and like in each degree
the flocke which he did keepe.
. . . . . .
" But Shepheards mought be meeke and milde,
well-eyed, as Argus was,
With fleshly follies undefiled
and stout as steede of brasse.
Sike one, said Algrin, Moses was
that saw his Maker's face."

Then follows presently a picture of the pride of Rome, by a shepherd who has travelled thither, which takes its suggestion from Mantuan's ninth eclogue, entitled *Falco, de Moribus Curiæ Romanæ.* But Spenser does not finish this eclogue without a return to Archbishop Grindal. Who is this Algrind? Morrell asks; and Thomalin replies with a parable from the old tale of the death of Æschylus, of a good man who has been struck from on high. For Grindal suffers innocently from the queen's displeasure. The prudent E. K. in his gloss suggests here no more than an argument in praise of the mean estate, and rather indicates agreement with Morrell's opinion that the chief happiness is in the highest degree: "Much like to that which once I heard alleged in defence of humility, out of a great doctor, '*Suorum, Christus humillimus*': which saying a gentleman in the company taking at the rebound, beat back again with a like saying of another doctor, as he said, '*Suorum, Deus altissimus.*'" E. K. does, in this fashion, what he can to veil his friend's imprudence. But the poet himself was wiser, who made simple music and burnt incense in his April eclogue, to give pleasant assurance of his loyalty and courtesy, and then was not afraid to speak his mind.

Love returns in the August eclogue, with a roundelay and a sestina for variety of song. Here there are recollections of the fourth eclogue of Virgil and fifth Idyll of

Theocritus. Mantuan's ninth eclogue suggests matter for Spenser's ninth—the eclogue for September. In Mantuan a shepherd who has gone to Rome is kindly received by a Roman comrade, who tells of the evils of the Roman Court. In Spenser the ills are told by a shepherd who has come from Rome. Spenser again writes on the condition of the Church, and he now pays honour to another faithful Churchman, Roffy, the Bishop of Rochester—Roffensis—John Young, who had been Master of Pembroke Hall in Spenser's time. Says Hobbinol,

> "He is so meeke, wise, and merciable,
> And with his word his work is convenable,
> Colin Clout I weene be his selfe boy,
> (Ah for Colin he, whilome my joy!)
> Shepheards sich, God mought us many send
> That doen so carefully their flocks tend."

John Young had been elected Master of Pembroke Hall on the twelfth of July, 1567, upon the recommendation of Edmund Grindal, who had held that office himself and resigned it in May, 1562. Spenser, it will be remembered, entered Pembroke Hall in May, 1569, so that Colin Clout was at once obedient to Young as "his selfe boy." Dr. Young was elected Bishop of Rochester in February, 1578, and was installed on the first of April, at which time he resigned his office of Master of Pembroke Hall. Thus he had been "Roffy" only for about a year when Spenser found a corner for him in his "Calendar." Dr. Grosart suggests that the dog Lowder was the bishop's chancellor, whose name was Lloyd—easily turned into what then was, and still is in North-east Lancashire, a familiar name for a dog. Roffy is the name, also, of a shepherd in the eclogues of Marot, where he stood for Pierre Roffet, publisher, of Lyons, one of Marot's friends. Spenser, of course, knew the name in Marot before he gave it his own meaning. In this eclogue Spenser continues his complaint against the

corrupt clergy, after the manner of Skelton. Hobbinol says—

> "Diggon, I pray thee speake not so dirke:
> Such myster saying me seemeth to mirke";

and Diggon replies—

> "Then plainly to speake of Shepheards most what:
> Bad is the best, this English is flat.
> Their ill haviour garres men mis-say
> Both of their doctrine and their fay.
> . . . . .
> Thus chatten the people in their steads
> Ylike as a monster of many heads.
> . . . . .
> HOBBINOL: Now, Diggon, I see thou speakest too plaine;
> Better it were a little to faigne
> And clenly cover that cannot be cured:
> Such ill as is forced mought needes be endured."

Spenser's October eclogue is based on the fifth of Mantuan, *quæ dicitur de consuetudine Divitum erga Poetas.* This had been the foundation, also, of the fourth of Barclay's eclogues.* Mantuan opens with the question of Sylvanus to Candidus—

> "Candide, nobiscum pecudes aliquando solebas
> Pascere, et his gelidis calamos inflare sub umbris,
> Et miscere sales, simul, et certare palæstra.
> Nunc autem quasi pastores et rura perosus
> Pascua sopito fugis et trahis otia cantu."

This becomes, in Spenser's opening—

> "Cuddie, for shame hold up thy heavie headie,
> And let us cast with what delight to chace
> And wearie this long lingring Phœbus race.
> Whilome thou wont the shepheards lads to leade
> In rimes, in riddles, and in bidding base:
> Now they in thee, and thou in sleepe art deade."

* "E. W." vii. 105.

Spenser, drawing to the close of his Pastorals, already thinks of rising to the higher theme, and takes to himself the counsel of Silvanus in this eclogue—

> " Dic pugnas, dic gesta virum, dic proelia regum ;
> Vertere ad hos qui sceptra tenent, qui regna gubernant,"

which Spenser renders—

> " sing of bloody Mars, of wars, of giusts ;
> Turn thee to those that weld the awfull crowne."

So Virgil sang, Mæcenas helping him: in Mantuan's words—

> " Tityrus, ut fama est, sub Mæcenate vetusto,
> Rura, boves, et agros, et Martia bella canebat
> Altius, et magno pulsabat sidera cantu,"

which became Spenser's words—

> " Indeed the Romish Tityrus, I heare,
> Through his Mæcenas left his oaten reede,
> Whereon he erst had taught his flocks to feede
> And laboured lands to yeeld the timely eare,
> And eft did sing of warres and deadly dreede,
> So as the heavens did quake his verse to heare."

But, says Candidus of the Rome that he has seen—

> " Occidit Augustus, nunquam rediturus ab orco " ;

And, says Spenser's Cuddy—

> " Ah ! Mæcenas is yclad in claie,
> And great Augustus long ygoe is dead."

But here, as everywhere, Spenser shapes old forms to his own spirit. His own mind now is on the larger theme to which his heart is rising—on the spiritual battle, in the forms of chivalry, of which the plan is already shaped or shaping

in his mind; for "The Shepheardes Calender" was scarcely finished before its author had begun "The Facrie Queene" with the words—

> "A gentle knight was pricking on the plain,
> Yclad in mightie armes."

The two remaining eclogues of "The Shepheardes Calender"—the eleventh and twelfth—were paraphrases of two eclogues by Marot. The November eclogue transformed the lament of Marot for the death of Louise of Savoy, mother of Francis I., into a lament for Dido. Reference to King Francis remained in such lines as, "O thou great Shepherd Lobbin how great is thy grief." Spenser followed his original closely, but with a poet's freedom, to the last, and added chime of his own to the contrasted burdens of Colin's song, with the recurring words in the first burden, "O heavy herse! O careful verse!" and in the second, "O happy herse! O joyful verse!" when the strain changes from lamentation to religious hope. It may even be that Spenser had a double sense in his mind that caused him to repeat literally, towards the close of the song, the phrase, "Frank Shepherd"—

> "O franc Pasteur, combien tes vers sont pleins
> De grand douceur, et de grand' amertume:
> Le chant me plaist, et mon cueur tu contrains,
> A se douloir, plus qu'il n'a de coustume."

> ("Aye franck shepheard, how bene thy verses meint
> With dolefull pleasance, so as I ne wotte
> Whether reioyce or weepe for great constraint.")

And it is to this piece that Spenser appends, as Colin's, Marot's motto, "La Mort ny Mord."

Having associated this poem with the death of the year, Spenser closed his work with yet another paraphrase. This

was Marot's "Eclogue to the King," under the name of "Pan and Robin." The paraphrase in the November eclogue had improved on the original. In that of the December eclogue, Marot's is the better poem of the two. It was a pastoral of the course of his own life, figured by the changing seasons. In each of the two eclogues Spenser has lost something by erasure of the local colouring, which by its truth gives so great a charm to Marot's verse. In the lament for Louise, stern realities in the condition of France, longing for peace in an afflicted nation, genuine sympathy with mourners, blend with the fresh strain of religion. These disappear, or become simply poetical ornament, in Spenser's lament for Dido. But death is common, and the added music with which Spenser enriched the form of the lament—even the vague use of Dido as a type for any dead queen—supplied more than was lost. But in the other eclogue one feels that Marot is painting with a vigorous simplicity—and in verse hardly less musical than Spenser's—from true recollections and a lively present sense of his own life in the France of the sixteenth century, and that the homely incidents which Spenser passes over, as well as the wilder features that he tames—as when Marot's wolf becomes Spenser's hare—show in Marot the strength as well as grace of a true artist.* Marot painted from individual life, where Spenser sought only to close his round of the months with a poetical suggestion of their changes serving as an image of the life of man.

* A full comparison between original and paraphrase in these two eclogues will be found in my "Life of Clement Marot," London, 1871, vol. i., pp. 266–272; vol. ii., pp. 21–32.

CHAPTER II.

TOUCHING THE EARTHQUAKE AND OUR ENGLISH REFORMED VERSIFYING.—QUEEN ELIZABETH AMONG THE POETS.

ARTHUR GOLDING was among those who took very seriously a shock of earthquake that was felt throughout England on the sixth of April, 1580. We have seen evidence of his religious temper in the introduction to his translation of Ovid's "Metamorphoses." * He published without loss of time "A discourse vpon the Earthquake that hapned throughe this Realme of Englande, and other places of Christendom, the sixt of Aprill, 1580, betwene the houres of fiue and six in the Euening. Written by Arthur Golding, Gentleman." (Henry Bynneman, 1580.) Twenty-two pages of very small quarto treat of the earthquake as God's threatening against "our contempt of his holy Religion, and our securitie and sound sleeping in sinne, shewing us euident tokens of his iust displeasure neere at hande, both abroade and at home." Arthur Golding quotes, among signs of Divine displeasure, the famine under Mary, when men were fain to make bread of acorns; the monstrous births both of children and cattle; the unseasonableness of the seasons of some years; the wonderful new star so long time fixed in the heavens; the strange appearings of comets; frequent eclipses of sun and moon; the great and strange-fashioned

The Earthquake of 1580: Arthur Golding.

* "E. W." viii. 223.

lights seen in the firmament in the night-times; the sudden falling and unwonted abiding of unmeasurable abundance of snow; the excessive and untimely rains and overflowing of waters; the greatness and sharp continuance of sore frosts; and many other such wonderful things, one following on another's neck.

He proceeds to argue against those who, "to keep themselves and others from the due looking back into the time earst mysspent, and to foade them still in the vanities of this worlde, least they should see their own wretchednesse, and seeke to shunne God's vengeance at hand, will not sticke to deface the apparant working of God, by ascribing this miracle to some ordinarie causes in nature."

Two pages and a half at the end give "The Reporte of the said Earthquake, and howe it beganne."

On Easter Wednesday, April 6, 1580, "a little before 6 p.m.,

"happened thys greate Earthquake whereof this discourse treateth: I meane not greate in respecte of long continuance of time, for (God be thanked) it continued little above a minute of an houre, rather shaking God's rod at us than smiting us according to oure desertes: nor yet in respecte of any greate hurte done by it within thys Realme: for, although it shooke all houses, castles, churches and buildings, euery where as it wente, and put them in danger of ruine: yet within this Realme (praysed be our Sauiour Jesus Christe for it) it overthrewe few or none that I haue yet hearde of, sauing certain stones, chimneys, walles, and pinnacles of high buildings, bothe in this Cittie and in diuers other places: Neyther do I heare of anye Christen people that receiued bodily hurte by it, sauing two children in London, a boye and a girle, being at Sermon among a great number of people in Christs churche by Newgate market, of whome the boy named Thomas Gray was slaine out of hand, with the fall of a stone shaken downe from the roofe of the Church: and the girle (whose name was Mabell Euerite) being sore hurt there at ye same present by like casualtie, dyed wythin fewe dayes after: But I terme it great in respect of the uniuersalnesse thereof almost at one instant, not onelye within this Realm, but also without, where it was muche more violent, and did far more harme: and in respecte of the great terror which it then strake into al mens heartes where it came."

Gabriel Harvey, at the time of the earthquake, was playing at cards in a country house in Essex, with some ladies, who were "making a loud noise with much ado" over the game; and although he thought that the shaking of the room was caused by moving something heavy in another part of the house, he playfully assumed it to be strange that the delicate voices of two fair ladies should make such a sudden, terrible earthquake. But the master of the house entered in alarm; inquiry was made out of doors, where also the shock had been felt; and one of the ladies then desired to turn suddenly from cards to prayers. Upon this, Gabriel Harvey reasoned that such shocks were not necessarily supernatural, and that, although doubtless it is in the power of God miraculously to produce them, it is not the business of man to treat them superstitiously. His argument was included among some letters that passed between Spenser and Harvey, and were published in 1580.

Gabriel Harvey.

Spenser and Harvey were of like age, but Spenser went to Cambridge two years later. Harvey must have gone to Cambridge from Saffron Walden at the not unusual age of fifteen, for he took his M.A. at twenty-two. This we learn from himself. There was published by the Camden Society in 1884, from a Sloane MS. in the British Museum, the more valuable part of a private book into which Gabriel Harvey, between 1573 and 1580, copied letters of personal record, with early verses of his own. He also entered student notes in rhetoric and theology, which have been left unprinted. In this "Letter-Book," * which was distinctly private, there are copies of letters written in March and April, 1573, when Harvey was

Spenser and Harvey.

* "Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573–1580. Edited from the Original MS. Sloane 93, in the British Museum, by Edward John Long Scott, M.A. Oxon., Assistant Keeper of MSS., British Museum." Printed for the Camden Society, 1884.

endeavouring to overcome the obstinate resistance of three or four Fellows of Pembroke Hall to his obtaining the usual grace on reaching the year in which he should commence Master of Arts. Others obtained their grace, and his was stayed by an opposition of which Harvey sets forth the facts and the assigned causes in letters to Dr. John Young, Master of Pembroke Hall, who was at the time absent in London. Dr. Young—Spenser's "Roffy"—afterwards obtained, as Bishop of Rochester, much credit for administrative vigour, and the incident to which Spenser alludes in "The Shepheardes Calender," whatever it may have been, was taken as evidence of "Roffy's" firmness in action. Dr. Young overcame at last, by use of his authority, the opposition of those Fellows who were refusing Harvey's grace for his degree. But in the following October feud broke out again, during the Master's absence, and endeavour was made to stop Harvey's delivery of the Greek lecture, which Dr. Young had entrusted to him without asking for the assent of the Fellows. The Master of the College was held by some to have disregarded the rights of the Fellows. Such feuds and jealousies had been a part of college life, and would remain so yet for many generations. Ascham's letters show that he was wearied by them at St. John's. Harvey at Pembroke Hall had Dr. Young's favour, partly on his own account as an assiduous scholar, partly because he had been recommended to the Master's good offices by a man of high influence in the State, who in his younger days had made a great name in the university *—Sir Thomas Smith, to whom Harvey was in some degree a kinsman. Incidentally, in a letter, he spoke afterwards of Sir Thomas Smith's son as his cousin. Confidence in Dr. Young's goodwill is implied in the detailed reports that Harvey sent to him of the proceedings of the Fellows who were leaders of the opposition. In one of these letters, written

* "E. W., viii. 160, 161.

on the twenty-sixth of April, he speaks of his experiences of March and April as giving him the worst time he has ever known in his life, but phrases his life by the number of its years: "If May prove no better with me than March and April have done, I must needs say, and say it truly, it will be the worst spring, yea the worst and roughest winter for me that happened this twenty-two years." * This agrees with the probability that Harvey joined his college at fifteen, and was, therefore, qualified for his Master's degree at the age of twenty-two. Among the contents of Harvey's "Letter-Book" there is a passage that corroborates this indication of his age. He transcribed into the book some verses entitled, "The Scholar's Love, or Reconcilement of Contraries. The very first English metre that I made." He entered it as written in September, 1573, and representing "a few idle hours of a young Master of Art." In measure variously rambling, he first pours exaggerated praise and then exaggerated dispraise upon a Mistress Ellena or Nell, and then disports himself with disputation that mocks the manner of the schools, on likeness in opposites. In a piece written to be inserted somewhere in this rhapsody, he doubles his age by adding twenty to it, and allows by the phrase, "with advantage," for the fact that he makes forty by adding twenty to a little more than twenty—

> "A strange world and a quaint and a mad fashion,
> Who knoweth in wishing how to order his passion?
> Not myself, I fear me, when twenty years to come
> Of forty with advantage shall make up the sum."

But, if Harvey was twenty-two years old when he became Master of Arts, he was born in 1551, and could not have been, as has been sometimes supposed, a pedant about seven years older than Spenser. Harvey's "Letter-Book" contains

* "Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey," p. 34. For the next reference to age, see "Letter-Book," p. 142.

some youthful nonsense in a letter to Spenser, from which it appears that Spenser at Pembroke Hall had advantage over his friend in a moustache and beard, from which his "thrice honourable mustachios and subboscos" Harvey wanted clippings to cover his blushes when some rhymes of his should be sold at Stourbridge Fair. Another letter to Spenser was written by Harvey as secretary to a group of friends at the university, with whom he was sitting at a tavern fire when a letter from Spenser was delivered to him. He glanced over it, and then, reserving the few sentences that were private, read the rest for the amusement of the company. It seems to have been, after the fashion of the day for moral and sententious letter-writing,* a discourse on the growing evils of a world in which reason is become the slave of appetite. Harvey sits at a table to write what is dictated to him by a succession of young university men over the ale, in the usual form of *Nego argumentum.* It is argued, in reply to Spenser, that the world is better, and not worse, than it has been; that Spenser is a thousand years behind the time in decrying Appetite and Fancy, and upholding the scholar's life as free from appetite and full of reason. "You suppose us students happy," dictates one of the company, "and think the air preferred that breatheth on these same learned philosophers and profound clerks. Would to God you were one of their men but a se'nnight. I doubt not but you would swear ere Sunday next that there was not the like woful and miserable creatures to be found within the compass of the whole world again. None so injurious to themselves, so tyrannous to their servants, so niggardly to their kinsfolks, so rigorous to their acquaintance, so unprofitable to all, so untoward for the commonwealth, and so unfit for the world, mere bookworms and very idols, the most intolerable creatures to come in any good sociable company that ever God created.

* "E. W." viii. 295.

Look them in the face: you will straight ways affirm they are the driest, leanest, ill-favouredst, abjectest, base-mindedst carrions and wretchecks that ever you set your eye on." So every yea must have its nay, and there was hard banging about each other's ears of words as big and harmless as the fool's air-bladder, that came down with resounding thwack upon the head of friend or foe. Often in tiltings with the pen there was as rough sport as in tiltings with the lance. No murder was meant in either case, but there was eagerness on each side to show power of thrust, whether with tongue or arm.

Five letters between Spenser and Gabriel Harvey were printed "by H. Bynneman, dvvelling in Thames streate, neere vnto Baynardes Castell," in the year 1580. They were published in two separate issues, and of each of them there is a unique copy in the British Museum. The three letters in the first issue were published as "Three proper and wittie familiar Letters: lately passed betvveene tvvo Vniuersitie men: touching the Earthquake in Aprill last, and our English refourmed Versifying. With the Preface of a well-willer to them both." After the preface, which is dated the nineteenth of June, 1580, the letters are, (1) from Spenser to his "long approued and singular good Frende, Master G. H.," on versifying, with reference to poems of his own; (2) Gabriel Harvey's "Pleasant and Pithy Familiar Discourse of the Earthquake in Aprill last," to his "loouing frende M. Immerito"; (3) Gabriel Harvey's "Gallant familiar Letter, containing an Answere to that of M. Immerito, vvith sundry proper examples, and some Precepts of our English reformed Versifying," addressed to his "very friend M. Immerito." This pamphlet consists mainly of Gabriel Harvey's two long letters. The short letter of Spenser's that precedes them is not in quantity a fourteenth part of the whole. The publication of these three letters

Published Letters between Spenser and Harvey.

was followed by the issue of two more, that had been written earlier but delivered later to the printer. These were entitled, "Tvvo other very commendable Letters, of the same mens vvriting: both touching the foresaid Artificial Versifying, and certain other Particulars: More lately deliuered vnto the Printer." They are (1) a letter from Spenser upon versification, addressed "To the worshipfull his very singular good friend, Maister G. H. Fellow of Trinitie Hall in Cambridge," and dated from "Leycester House, this 5 of October, 1579," with (2) Gabriel Harvey's answer, dated from Trinity Hall on the twenty-third of the same month.

These letters add a little to our knowledge of Spenser's early work as a poet, and show how the question of writing modern poems in the versification of the ancient Latin classics—a question which arose in Italy after the Renaissance *—was being discussed in England among scholars at the universities who cared for English verse.

The earliest in date of these five letters—that written by Spenser to Harvey on the fifth of October, 1579, written from Leicester House, in London, to Trinity Hall, Cambridge—touches on question of another little volume by Spenser, "My Slumber"—afterwards called "Dreames"—and other pieces which Harvey wished him to address to Leicester, but which, in fact, although prepared for press, did not appear. This letter refers to Gosson's bad taste in dedicating to Sidney his "School of Abuse." Spenser speaks of an interview to which he had been admitted by the queen, of which he can say nothing to satisfy his friend's curiosity; and he writes Latin verses of farewell to Harvey before his departure into France, which he expects will be next week. Spenser speaks also of his intercourse with Philip Sidney and his friend Edward Dyer, who "have me I thank them in some use of

* "E. W." viii. 61, 62.

familiarity," and who hold Gabriel Harvey in credit and estimation. The letter tells also that Sidney and Dyer have declared against rhyme, and that they have drawn Spenser to the writing of English verse according to the rules founded on metre of the Greeks and Latins established by them and their friends, and specially drawn up by Thomas Drant. And, says Spenser, "I am of late more in loue with my Englishe Versifying than with Ryming: whyche I should haue done long since, if I would then haue followed your councell." But he had thought Harvey was only following the scholarship of Ascham, who in the "Schoolmaster" advocated the substitution of Greek metres for rhyme in English poetry. Now, Spenser has found there are good English poets at Court who give him the like counsel. Spenser sends in his letter a taste of his quality in writing Iambic trimeters. They are attempts of which the first two words serve to describe the whole—

> "Vnhappie Verse, the witnesse of my vnhappie state,
> Make thyself fluttring wings of thy fast flying
> Thought, and fly forth vnto my Loue wheresoeuer she be."

He says of them that they conform everywhere to Master Drant's rules: "I dare warrant they be precisely perfect for the feete (as you can easily iudge,) and varie not one inch from the Rule." Harvey, in reply, praises the trimeters, but denies that they are everywhere perfect for the feet. He speaks of his friend's travel over sea, but thinks he will not be gone "either the next or the nexte week." Spenser's part in the other three letters consists only of the short letter preceding the two long letters by Harvey. He begins with some discussion of Harvey's writing of English hexameters, and says: "Loe here I let you see my olde vse of toying in Rymes, turned into your artificial straightnesse of Verse, by this Tetrasticon. I beseech you tell me your fansie without parcialitie—

'See yee the blindfoulded pretie God, that feathered Archer,
Of Louers Miseries which maketh his bloodie game?
Wote ye why his Moother with a Veale hath coouered his Face?
Trust me, least he my Looue happely chaunce to beholde.'

Seeme they comparable to those two which I translated you *ex tempore* in bed, the last time we lay together in Westminster?—

'That which I eate did I ioy, and that which I greedily gorged,
As for those many goodly matters leaft I for others.'

I would hartily wish you would either send me the Rules and Preceptes of Arte which you observe in Quantities, or else followe mine that M. Philip Sidney gaue me, being the very same which M. Drant deuised, but enlarged with M. Sidney's own iudgement, and augmented with my Obseruations, that we might both accorde and agree in one: leaste we ouerthrowe one another, and be ouerthrowne of the reste." Spenser tells that he has in mind to write in this manner of English versifying an *Ephithalamion Thamesis*, which book will, he thinks, be very profitable for the knowledge, and rare for the invention and manner of handling. In setting forth the marriage of the Thames he will show his first beginning and offspring, and all the country that he passes through, "and also describe all the Riuers throughout Englande whyche came to this Wedding, and their righte names, and right passage &c. A worke, beleeue me, of much labour, wherein notwithstanding Master Holinshed hath muche furthered and aduantaged me, who therein hath bestowed singular paines, in searching out their first heades and sourses: and also in tracing and dogging oute all their Course, til they fall into the sea." Spenser then speaks of his "Dreames" and "Dying Pellicane" as finished, and presently to be printed, so he adds: "I wil in hande forthwith with my 'Faerie Queene,' whyche I praye you hartily send me with al expedition."

Here we see that "The Faerie Queene" was already begun, that the part written had been sent to Harvey for his criticism, and that Spenser wished to have it back, that he might go on with his work upon it.

A postscript tells that the "Dreames" had been so fully glossed by E. K. with discourse of "some things excellently and many things wittily," that they had grown to make a book as large as "The Shepherd's Calendar," and were set forth with singularly good pictures, "as if Michael Angelo were there"; for which reason he thought best they should come forth alone. Spenser referred also to a poem with apostrophes addressed to the Earl of Leicester, *Stemmata Dudleiana*, of which "must more aduisement be had, than so lightly to send them abroad: howbeit, trust me (though I do neuer very well) yet in my own fancy I neuer did better." The next letter is Harvey's on the earthquake; and in the next—last of the five—Harvey replies to Spenser upon the New Versifying. Spenser had touched on difficulties. Harvey thinks that no rules, whether by Thomas Drant or any other man, will meet the English poet's need, until there shall be a thorough settlement of the spelling of words in accordance with their prosody. He argues, rightly, that length or shortness of a syllable in English depends, not on diphthong or position, or any rule derived from Greek or Latin poetry, but "on the universal consent of all, and continued by a general use and custom of all." There must be fixed pronunciation, and fixed spelling in accordance with it, before there can be any certain general art of versifying in the manner of the ancients. He makes bold, nevertheless, with his particular examples, and looks upon Sidney and Dyer as the two great poets—with, perhaps, Spenser as a third—who will lead the company of the beginners in this work of reformation.

The reference in this letter of Gabriel Harvey's to his friend's proposed volume of "Dreames" is followed by allusions to other works written by Spenser—

"Master Colin Clout is not everybody, and albeit his old companions, Master Cuddy and Master Hobbinol, be as little beholding to their Mistress Poetrie as ever you wist: yet he peradventure by the means of her special favour, and some personal privilege, may haply live by dying Pelicans, and purchase great lands and lordships with the money which his 'Calendar' and 'Dreams' have and will afford him. *Extra jocum*, I like your 'Dreams' passingly well: and the rather because they savour of that singular and extraordinary vein and invention which I ever fancied most, and in a manner admired only in Lucian, Petrarch, Aretine, Pasquil, and all the most delicate and fine conceited Grecians and Italians: (for the Romans to speak of are but very ciphers in this kind:) whose chiefest endeavour and drift was to have nothing vulgar, but in some respect or other, and especially in lively hyperbolical amplifications, rare, quaint and odd in every point and, as a man would say, a degree or two at the least above the reach and compass of a common scholar's capacity. . . . I dare say you will hold yourself reasonably well satisfied if your Dreams be but as well esteemed of in England as Petrarch's Visions be in Italy: which, I assure you, is the very worst I wish you. But see how I have the Art Memorative at commandment. In good faith I had once again nigh forgotten your 'Faerie Queene': howbeit by good chance I have now sent her home at the last, neither in better nor worse case than I found her. And must you of necessity have my judgment of her indeed? To be plain, I am void of all judgment if your Nine Comedies whereunto, in imitation of Herodotus, you give the names of the Nine Muses (and in one man's fancy not unworthily) come not nearer Ariosto's comedies either for the fineness of plausible elocution or the rareness of poetical invention than that Elvish Queen doth to his 'Orlando Furioso,' which notwithstanding you will needs seem to emulate, and hope to overgo, as you flatly professed yourself in one of your last letters. Besides that you know it hath been the usual practice of the most exquisite and odd wits in all nations, and specially in Italy, rather to shew and advance themselves that way than any other. . . . But I will not stand greatly with you in your own matters. If so be the Faerie Queene be fairer in your eye than the Nine Muses, and Hobgoblin run away with the garland from Apollo, mark what I say—and yet I will not say that I thought, but there an end for this once, and fare you well till God or some good angel put you in a better mind."

How much of "The Faerie Queene," as we now have it, was written before 1580, and read by Spenser's critical

friend, we cannot know; nor can we know whether the first three books of the poem, as first published in 1590, included any part of the beginning at which Harvey shook his head ten years before. The story may possibly, as first planned, have opened at the court of the Faerie Queene, with those incidents which Spenser, upon second thoughts, kept for the close, while he contented himself with telling their plan in his prefatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh. The form of Harvey's comment somewhat implies an opening in Fairyland, and Spenser, perhaps, afterwards recast his work to make it begin in the midst of action. It may have been so, but I hardly think it was. Gabriel Harvey was a good scholar who, like many other cultivated men, loved and wrote verse without being a poet, and he well represented critical taste in the university life of his day. His taste was of the fashion of his day, which favoured "the fine conceited Grecians and Italians, whose chiefest endeavour and drift was to have nothing vulgar, but in some respect or other, and especially in lively hyperbolical amplifications, rare, quaint and odd in every point and, as a man would say, a degree or two, at the least, above the reach and compass of a common scholar's capacity." His taste was, like that of his day, for the strained ingenuities that had been cultivated in the little Courts of Italy. He was bred to a way of thinking superstitiously of wit, whereby Lyly, who yielded to it, feared that he had "committed idolatry against wisdom." * His taste was for the superfluous eloquence that desired, as again Lyly expressed it, "to eat finer bread than is made of wheat, or wear finer cloth than is made of wool." Those early works of Spenser's which the poet, who took Chaucer for his master, himself set aside and would not print, his critical friend praised; and those on which he rightly chose to

Spenser's Early Work.

* "E. W." viii. 309.

rest his claim to live till English speech shall be no more, his critic of the hour could not appreciate.

"The Faerie Queene," fresh in intention, bound to no convention, drawing from Chaucer its simplicity of speech, Harvey believed to be a dangerous experiment. "Mother Hubbard's Tale," which Spenser published in 1591 as written in his "raw and greene youth," Gabriel Harvey must have known in 1580 as well as the other pieces which he then commended. But it was written in homely English that aimed at the simplicity of Chaucer, and Harvey never mentioned it. Spenser had written also, in his earlier years, the two Hymns to earthly Love and Beauty, which he published only in his later life with addition of other two Hymns to the heavenly Love and Beauty. When he left England, Spenser had not even cared to proceed to actual issue of the volume of "Dreames"—first called by him his "Slumber"—which he had been preparing for publication, with the gloss of his friend "E. K." already written. Spenser did not give to the world the Nine Comedies that Harvey praised, nor "The Dying Pelican"—probably the Pelican who was left weeping in the Plowman's Tale*—nor the "Stemmata Dudleiana," which to himself seemed very good when he was yet warm with the first heat of his invention.

Spenser followed his own judgment while respecting the opinions of friends. Those earlier writings, which were not made public as first written, were not all suppressed. What he chose to retain of the "Stemmata Dudleiana," Spenser certainly included afterwards in his "Ruines of Time," which poem seems also to include probably as much of the "Dreames" as he thought worth preserving. We shall recognise in Spenser's later work some other passages that seem to have been extracted and recast from poems otherwise known to us only by their mention in the correspondence between Spenser and Harvey.

* "E. W." vi. 97, 98.

The sound judgment that directed the new poet's choice of verses of his own for printing is shown also by the absence from his published works of all experiment in the new versifying. We have seen that under the influence of Sidney and Dyer, when they were feverish in this direction, Spenser caught the infection, and had an eruption of iambic Trimeters, Hexameters, and other classic forms of unrhymed verse. He followed Thomas Drant's rules, and busied himself a while with what Harvey afterwards called "Dranting of verses." He believed in quantity and grieved over the stubbornness of accent, which he sought to force into submission to classic laws of quantity. So he was guilty of rather worse verse in the manner of the ancients than that of his friend Gabriel Harvey, who was in this matter less pedantic and a shade more practical. But of all this not a trace is to be found in Spenser's published works. All transitory fashions of the Court and of the schools, however he may at times have been lost in the mist they spread about him, melted in air beneath the sunlight of the genius of Chaucer, by which Spenser saw the path he was to follow.

The New Versifying.

Thomas Drant had entered St. John's College, Cambridge, in the year of Elizabeth's accession, and had presented verses in Greek, Latin, and English to the queen when she visited Cambridge in 1564, the year he became Master of Arts. He began active life under the patronage of Edmund Grindal, with whom he lived as domestic chaplain. Grindal, as Bishop of London, appointed Drant a divinity reader at St. Paul's and obtained for him a prebend in the cathedral. In January, 1570, Drant, who had lately proceeded to the degree of B.D., obtained a prebend in Chichester Cathedral, and was presented to the Sussex rectory of Slinfold. A month later he became Archdeacon of Lewes, and as the archdeaconry was vacant in April, 1578, it was, no doubt, vacated because

Thomas Drant.

Drant died at that time. He described himself as fair-haired and fat, cared much for verse, and was zealous in his office as a preacher. He translated into English rhyme, in 1566, under the title of "A Medicinable Morall," Horace's Satires into English, versified Jeremiah, and added in the same volume a few English and Latin verses of his own. Next year he published verse translation of Horace's Art of Poetry and of the other Epistles. He produced, in 1572, a Latin poetical paraphrase of Ecclesiastes, and late in life produced verse of his own as a "Sylva." Before his death he had proceeded through five books of an unpublished translation of the "Iliad." Two sermons preached by him —one in 1569, the other in 1570—were published together without date. One was before the Court at Windsor, denouncing vanity of dress; the other was preached in the City, at St. Mary Spital, and denounced the sensuality of citizens. Drant, then, was dead in 1580, when Spenser and Harvey were discussing rules he had drawn up for English versifying in the manner of the Greeks and Latins.

The interest in this question of an English reformed versifying was, on its scholarly side, maintained very strongly in the University of Cambridge. On its poetical and courtly side its chief support was from the goodwill to it of Philip Sidney, and what Harvey called the Areopagus in which Sidney and the poets who were his close friends framed law. The period of its most active discussion was of about sixteen years, if we may reckon it from the publishing of Ascham's "Schoolmaster," in 1570, to Sidney's death, in 1586. It had distinct significance, and is not to be passed over slightingly.

Search in the direction of a perfected Blank Verse.

If any English writers, with the sense of a new strength now come into the lives of Englishmen, and with faith in the resources of the English language, felt the want of an unrhymed measure as musical as that of Homer or of Virgil,

as simple in its dignity, as capable of various expression, and as free from apparent tricks of ornament, they felt a want that really did exist and was to be supplied, though in a way that no man then could possibly foresee. The first care in a deliberate endeavour to supply this want was to consider whether the old metres of Greece and Rome could not be naturalised in England. It was agreed on all hands that as the old classic measures were created and established by the genius of great poets who used them, so the new English versification, whenever it came, must rely for its creation and establishment upon example set by two or three great poets of England. Thomas Drant, of course, did not suppose that his rules were sufficient. They were good only as indications of the direction in which he wished to see one or two poets of high mark and influence using their genius to shape the manner of our verse. No one had then any reason to think that the blank verse which Surrey had introduced from Italy, and used as an English measure in which Virgil might be reproduced, would receive just such development from the genius of two of England's greatest poets yet to come—Shakespeare and Milton. There was nothing in the verse as then written to show that it could be fashioned into more than men were hoping for. Who could see in the verse of "Gorboduc" or "The Steel Glass" the childhood of an unrhymed measure that would live and grow on English soil, and would remain but as a child elsewhere? It was not a mere servile following of Italian efforts in a similar direction since the Renaissance. I take it rather as a sign of the new force in English literature, that there was this feeling in the dark towards a metre fit for the expression of the highest life and thought. Experiments upon hexameters and sapphics failed, no doubt, and were set aside as failures. So it is, in the laboratory of the man of science, that the first experiments towards discovery of some great force of Nature fail, and by failing show the way to happier attempts.

Ascham on the Reformed Versifying: Thomas Watson.

Roger Ascham, who was a Fellow of Drant's college—St. John's—when Drant was an undergraduate, gave in "The Schoolmaster" the first strong impulse to this movement. In doing so he cited another St. John's man, Thomas Watson, who was within a year of his own age. Watson was admitted Master of the College in September, 1553, at the age of thirty-seven, and was created D.D. in 1554. He had been domestic chaplain to Stephen Gardiner, and in December, 1556, Thomas Watson was elected to the Bishopric of Lincoln, which he held at the accession of Elizabeth. He was deprived of his bishopric in June, 1559, and was at various times in Elizabeth's reign a prisoner in the Tower, remaining till his death in September, 1584, a faithful Roman Catholic, though temperate in his opinions and loyal to the queen. Apart from published sermons and disputations, Watson wrote a Latin tragedy of "Absolon,"* which was not published, and a translation of the first book of Homer's "Odyssey" into English verse. Difference of religious opinion did not break Ascham's friendship for his old college friend, who was a prisoner of honour in the custody of Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, when Ascham referred to him in "The Schoolmaster" as "one of the best scholars that ever St. John's bred, M. Watson, mine old friend, sometime Bishop of Lincoln."

* "When *M. Watson*, in S. Iohn's College at Cambrige wrote his excellent Tragedie of *Absolon*, *M. Cheke*, he and I, for that part of trew Imitation, had many pleasant talkes togither, in comparing the preceptes of *Aristotle* and *Horace de Arte Poctica* with the example of *Euripides*, *Sophocles*, and *Seneca*. Few men in writyng of Tragedies in our dayes, have shot at this marke. Some in *England*, more in *France*, *Germanie*, and *Italie*, also have written Tragedies in our tyme: of the which, not one I am sure is able to abyde the trew touch of *Aristotles* preceptes, and *Euripides* examples, saue onely two, that euer I saw, *M. Watson's Absolon*, and *Georgius Buckananus Lepthe*."—Ascham's "Schoolmaster," Book II.

Ascham quoted two lines from his friend's lost translation of the first book of the "Odyssey" to show "how our English tongue, in avoiding barbarous rhyming, may as well receive right quantity of syllables and true order of versifying as either Greek or Latin." These were the lines, which have often been re-quoted—

> "All travellers do gladly report great praise of Ulysses,
> For that he knew many men's manners and saw many cities."

In the second book of "The Schoolmaster" Ascham treated at some length of the desire shared with him by Cheke and Watson, "as Virgil and Horace were not wedded to follow the faults of former fathers, but by right imitation of the perfect Grecians had brought poetry to perfectness also in the Latin tongue, that we Englishmen likewise would acknowledge and understand rightfully our rude beggarly rhyming, brought first into Italy by Goths and Huns when all good verses, and all good learning too, were destroyed by them, and after carried into France and Germany, and at last received into England by men of excellent wit, indeed, but of small learning and less judgment in that behalf. But now, when men know the difference and have the examples both of the best and of the worst, surely to follow rather the Goths in rhyming than the Greeks in true versifying, were even to eat acorns with swine when we may freely eat wheaten bread among men." There was more to the same effect. Of the Earl of Surrey's blank verse translation of two books of Virgil, and of the translation of the "Odyssey" into Spanish blank verse by Gonsalvo Perez, Ascham said that both translators had avoided the fault of rhyming, "yet neither of them hath fully hit perfect and true versifying Indeed they observe just numbers and even feet, but here is the fault, that their feet be feet without joints, that is to say, not distinct by true quantity of syllables, and so such feet be but numb feet and be even as unfit for a verse to

turn and run roundly withal as feet of brass or wood be unwieldy to go withal." Ascham had recognised the difficulty arising from the number of long syllables in English, including many monosyllables for the most part long. Dactyls, he granted, were so hard to come by that it was almost impossible to write a good English pentameter. But there were the iambic measures. Our English runs into iambic verse more easily than into any other.

We shall hear more in course of time about the Goths and Huns and Vandals. Because they destroyed Roman civilisation, however surely they prepared the way for building up another, it has been their fate that in all times when the fashion of the day in literature has been for imitation of the ancient Greek and Latin classics, Goth, Hun, and Vandal have been used as synonyms for anything destructive of good art in word or work. They were not Goths, Huns, or Vandals who brought rhyme into Italy. The main body of the poetry of the old northern tribes was unrhymed. Rhyme, as we have seen, came chiefly from the south.*

So it was that the argument which had arisen with the Renaissance acquired currency at our universities in Ascham's time, and was brought into prominence by Ascham's pleading against rhyme in "The Schoolmaster": "This misliking of rhyme," he said, "beginneth not now of any newfangle singularity, but hath been long misliked of many, and that of men of greatest learning and deepest judgment." Spenser at Cambridge had not been persuaded to abandon rhyme by his friend Gabriel Harvey, because Harvey seemed to be under the influence of Ascham and other men who argued more as scholars than as poets. But when Spenser came to London, and found courtly poets, high in social repute—Sidney and Dyer—touched with the same fine frenzy, he yielded to its promptings long enough to obtain for himself practical assurance that the end

* "E. W." iii. 150.

desired would not be reached at all by the way these friends of his had chosen as the straightest.

The larger life of our Elizabethan literature began about the time when Shakespeare, a youth of twenty-two, first came to London—possibly in 1586; when Marlowe, in this year or in 1587, produced his first play, "Tamburlaine," and in its prologue, not uninfluenced by these arguments at his university, openly turned away "from jigging veins of rhyming mother wits." But Marlowe set aside the search for reconcilement of our English verse with Greek or Latin rules of quantity. It was he who took the iambic measure of our undeveloped blank verse, and began to shape it into what it afterwards became. The expansion of our literature after 1586 soon set at rest the questioning upon which William Webbe, in the summer evenings of the year 1586, was occupied when he wrote, at the manor house of Flemyngs in Essex, in the parish of Runwell and ten miles from Chelmsford, "A Discourse of English Poetrie: Together with the Authors judgment touching the reformation of our English Verse. By VVilliam VVebbe, Graduate. Imprinted at London, by John Charlewood for Robert VValley. 1586."*

William Webbe.

William Webbe was a Cambridge man—probably the William Webbe of St. John's College who graduated as Bachelor of Arts in 1573, for he was at Cambridge with Spenser and Gabriel Harvey. He was a friend also of Robert Wilmot, one of the five authors of the play of "Tancred and Gismunda," first acted before the queen at the Inner Temple in 1568. Young Webbe was then present at the performance, and Wilmot afterwards revised, and published the play, as by himself alone, in 1592, at which date we shall come to it again. Wilmot was presented, in 1582, by Gabriel Poyntz

* This was edited and published for a shilling by Professor Arber in 1870 in his "English Reprints," from the copy among the Malone books in the Bodleian, one of the only two known to be extant.

to the rectory of North Okenden, in Essex, and in 1585 he was presented by the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's to the vicarage of Horndon on-the-Hill, where he was only a few miles from the manor house of Flemyngs. At Flemyngs his friend Webbe was living, and had lived for two years or more before 1585, as tutor to Edward and Thomas, the two sons of the Mr. Edward Sulyard to whom Webbe's "Discourse of English Poetrie" was dedicated.

The aim of William Webbe's book was to advocate the use in English poetry of Greek and Latin metres, and this was stated in his preface "to the noble Poets of England." From among those poets he wished that some strong leaders might arise, and suggested, "if they would but consult one half hour with their heavenly Muse, what credit they might win to their native speech, what enormities they might wipe out of English poetry, what a fit vein they might frequent wherein to shew forth their worthy faculties, if English Poetry were truly reformed, and some perfect platform or *Prosodia* of versifying were by them ratified and set down, either in imitation of Greeks and Latins, or where it would scant abide the touch of their rules, the like observations selected and established by the natural affectation of the speech." He begins his "Discourse," however, with the nature and origin of poetry, taking throughout the view expressed in his saying of Homer, "Whoso list to take view of his two Books, one of his Iliads, the other his Odyssea, shall thoroughly perceive what the right use of poetry is: which is, indeed, to mingle profit with pleasure, and so to delight the reader with pleasantness of his Art, as in the meantime his mind may be well instructed with knowledge and wisdom." After some discussion of the Greek and Latin poets, adding from later time, as not far inferior to the most of them, Palingenius, Mantuan, and Christopher Ocland for his *Anglorum Prælia*,* Webbe comes to his own country, and says that he

* "E. W." viii. 270.

knows no memorable work written by any poet in our English speech until twenty years past. He abuses rhyme, and quotes Ascham's opinion that it began among the Huns and Goths. He passes in review Chaucer, "always accounted the god of English Poets (such a title for honour's sake hath been given him)," Gower, Lydgate, and "the next of our ancient poets that I can tell of I suppose to be Pierce Ploughman, who in his doings is somewhat harsh and obscure, but indeed a very pithy writer, and (to his commendation I speak it) was the first that I have seen that observed the quantity of our verse without the curiosity of rhyme." After Langland, Webbe says that he knows only of Skelton; and then, passing to the men esteemed in his own time, gives first place to George Gascoigne, quoting praise of him out of E. K.'s gloss to "The Shepheardes Calender." Then he puts together in a list the Earl of Surrey, Lord Vaux, Thomas Norton, Richard Edwards, Thomas Tusser, Thomas Churchyard, John Heywood, William Hunnis, adding other writers of pieces in "The Paradise of Dainty Devices," "Sand, Hyll, S. Y., M. D." (Master Dyer), and many others. Among noble lords and gentlemen of her majesty's Court, Webbe specially names Edward Vere, Earl of Oxford. Among translators he places Thomas Phaer first for his nine and a half books of the translation of Virgil, "the rest being since with no less commendations finished by that worthy scholar and famous physician Master Thomas Twyne. Equally with him may I well adjoin Master Arthur Golding for his labour in Englishing Ovid's Metamorphoses for which gentleman surely our country hath for many respects greatly to give God thanks. . . . The next very well deserveth, Master Barnaby Googe, to be placed as a painful furtherer of learning; his help to Poetry besides his own devices, as the translating of Palingenius' Zodiac. The translators of the Ten Tragedies of Seneca; translators of the other parts of Ovid" [that is to say

Turbervile who translated the Heroical Epistles (1567), and Churchyard who published in 1580 his translation of the first three books *De Tristibus*]; "the translators of Horace" [Thomas Drant, who published in 1566 A Medicinable Morall, that is, the two Bookes of Horace his Satyres Englished. The Wailyngs of the Prophet Hieremiah, done into Englishe Verse. Also Epigrammes. And in 1567 Horace his Arte of Poetrie, Pistles and Satyrs Englished]; "the translator of Mantuan" [Turbervile again], "and divers other, because I would hasten to end this rehearsal, perhaps offensive to some whom either by forgetfulness or want of knowledge I must needs over pass."

Webbe praises George Whetstone as "a man singularly well skilled in this faculty of poetry," his own friend Wilmot (part author of "Tancred and Gismunda"), G. B., F. C. (misprint, perhaps, for F. G., Fulke Greville), and F. K., who must be Francis Kinwelmarsh. He includes in his list four writers with whom we have not yet made acquaintance —Abraham Fleming, Anthony Munday, John Grange, [Edward] Knyght. Then he passes to the highest praise of the anonymous author of "The Shepheardes Calender," who, "if not only, yet in my judgment principally, deserveth the title of the rightest English Poet that ever I read"; and he evidently knew who was the author by suggesting "whether it was Master *Sp.* or what rare scholar in Pembroke Hall soever," while he almost coupled with *Sp.* Master Gabriel Harvey, "now long since seriously occupied with graver studies." Then Webbe discusses tragedy and comedy, and dwells again upon the poet's joining profit with delight. He cites Chaucer as a due observer of that rule, "for who could with more delight prescribe such wholesome counsel and sage advice, where he seemeth only to respect the profit of his lessons and instructions? or, who could with greater wisdom or more pithy skill unfold such pleasant and delightsome matters of mirth, as though they respected

nothing but the telling of a merry tale? so that this is the very ground of right poetry, to give profitable counsel, yet so as it must be mingled with delights." Webbe supports his argument by citations from the Latin poets, then proceeds to the discussion of eclogues and of forms of rhyming verse. In so doing he speaks at large of "The Shepheardes Calender," and speaks in detail of its "twelve or thirteen sundry sorts of verses, which differ either in length, or rhyme, or distinction of the staves; but of them which differ in length or number of syllables, not past six or seven." Then follows the discussion and setting forth of the principles of versification in the manner of the ancients, with admission that "as for the quantity of our words, therein lieth great difficulty and the chiefest matter in this faculty." He quotes Watson's hexameters upon what "All travellers do gladly report" of Ulysses. He quotes also Spenser's version of "Hæc habui quæ edi"—

> "All that I eate did I ioy and all that I greedily gorged.
> As fŏr | thōse mănič | gōodlič | mättērs | lēft I fŏr | ōthērs."

Webbe then proceeds to illustrate his argument by a translation of his own that reproduces the two first eclogues of Virgil in hexameters, beginning thus—

> "Tityrus happilie thou lyste tumbling vnder a beech tree
> All in a fine oate pipe these sweete songs lustilie chaunting:
> We, poore soules, goe to wracke, and from these coastes be remooued,
> And fro our pastures sweete: thou Tityr, at ease in a shade plott,
> Makst thicke groues to resound with songes of braue Amarillis."

Webbe also gives a paraphrase, into Sapphic verse, of Spenser's song to Eliza in the fourth eclogue of "The Shepheardes Calender." It is enough for us to look at his recasting of Spenser's first four lines—

" Ye dainty Nymphes that in this blessed brooke
doo bathe your brest :
Forsake your watry bowres and hether looke
at my request ! "

" *The Saphick verse.*

" O ye Nymphes most fine who resort to this brooke
For to bathe there your pretty breasts at all times :
Leave the watrish bowres, hyther and to me come
at my requeste nowe."

Feeble precursors these of Marlowe's mighty line, that in another year or two would lead the way to a true shaping of our own unrhymed iambic measure into a verse unbounded in the range of its expression, the Blank Verse that was to come to its full strength hereafter.

In Spain there had been imitation of the Latin classics which served only to strengthen by restraints of art the old national style. Diego de Mendoza—wit, scholar, and statesman—who died at Granada seventy-two years old in the year 1575, had written in his early manhood the famous tale, first printed in 1553, of "Lazarillo de Tormes"—little Lazarus, born on the banks of the Tormes, near Salamanca—first of the line of books which satirised society by fabling the careers of rogues. But Mendoza, who collected Greek manuscripts while employed by his sovereign in negotiations of the highest trust, wrote a hymn in honour of Cardinal Espinosa after five days of exclusive devotion to Pindar. He based upon Sallust the style of his *Guerra de Granada*, a polished history of the rebellion stirred by the Moors in 1568-1570. This was written by him at the close of life, and first printed in 1610. Beneath the current of the fashions of the day there was in these times an undercurrent of the classical influence that caused many prose-writers to pay right heed to the shaping of their sentences. We begin to find in the best

Classicism Abroad.

writers of Europe a homely vocabulary and, with free allowance for the grace of idiom, a Latin style.

But thought had expanded, its materials had multiplied, and the common language of the people nowhere sufficed for full expression. Each speaker and writer in one generation has a vocabulary differing in some respects from that of any of his neighbours. The most cultivated Englishman does not use a fifth of the words catalogued in a full English dictionary. A few hundred words suffice for all the needs of speech in an uneducated man, and a fairly educated man will go through life with a few thousand. More wealth of words is wanted for the expression of more wealth of thought; and this need caused men in Elizabeth's reign to attempt the recovery of old words passing out of use, and the invention of new words, derived chiefly from Greek or Latin. Evidence of this abounds in the work of English writers throughout the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth and the reign of James I., but the change proceeds almost insensibly by effort somewhere to supply each want when it is felt. In France there was a definite attempt in this direction, and a foremost poet had been leader of the band of authors who endeavoured to enrich the word-store of French literature and to mend its style, by making it conform more closely to the standard of a classical Augustan age. Thus, while Italian influence was paramount in Western Europe, the foundations of French influence were being laid.

Widening bounds of Language.

France aims at the ideal. We shall find again and again in this history that in France, if anywhere, prevailing forms of thought first crystallise into some clearly defined system to which men seek to refer their speculations, and by which they seek to shape action. There is a weak side, no doubt, to the idealist's intolerance of a conception imperfectly expressed, or burdened with details that blur its outline; but as the brave idealist, France has a place of her own—a noble

place—in the modern history of progress. She has suffered often for the common good, and she has made, in small things as in great, experiments towards perfection that have been instructive even when they failed. Our English classicism under Elizabeth owed something to France. It had among its vital forces impulse from the classical idealism of Ronsard.

Ronsard.

Pierre de Ronsard died on the twenty-seventh of December, 1585, aged sixty-one years and three or four months. He was of a noble French family which had its remote origin from where the Danube runs nearest to Thrace. Out of service of a king's son at the Court of France, Ronsard passed, as a boy, into Scotland, in May, 1537, as page to James V., after his marriage on New Year's Day to the sixteen-year-old consumptive princess Magdalene, who died in the following July. Young Ronsard was for about two years at the Court of Scotland. He was there in June, 1538, when James V. married Mary of Guise, and he lived afterwards for six months in England. On his return to France, Pierre de Ronsard resumed his office of page in the service of the Duke of Orleans, after whose death he was transferred to the household of Prince Henry, who in 1547, as Henry II., succeeded Francis I. upon the throne of France. Ronsard was but a boy of sixteen when he went to Germany in the train of Lazare de Baïf, ambassador to Spires. There he learnt German, and had an illness that left him for the rest of his life deaf. Du Bellay also was deaf. Deafness disqualified Ronsard for a courtier's life, and combined with the influence of a scholarly companion to direct Ronsard towards the full use of his mind. He fastened vigorously upon Virgil, and learnt all Virgil by heart. He studied the *Roman de la Rose* and the works of Clement Marot. He went to the schools again in 1543, and after his father's death, in June, 1544, Ronsard placed himself under the

tuition of the learned Jean Dorat, who was also deaf. Dorat taught Greek at the Collége de Coqueret to the son of Lazare de Baïf, Jean Antoine de Baïf, who was the first writer of French verse in the metres of the Greeks and Latins.

Ronsard's enthusiasm for Greek poetry was roused by the reading with Dorat of the "Prometheus Bound." He translated it into French, and then, passing from Æschylus to Aristophanes, translated the "Plutus." It was acted in the college theatre, and was the first acted comedy in French. Ronsard passed on with Jean Dorat to Homer and Pindar, and worked hard at the obscure "Cassandra" of Lycophron, one of the seven poets who, in the third century before Christ, in the time of Ptolemy Philadelphus, were called the Pleiades. The name was presently revived in France for application to Ronsard and six of his companions. Pierre de Ronsard, in his own verse, began early to work definitely for the enrichment of the language of his country, by restoring old words to their proper use and by inventing new, which he took from other languages and fashioned in the manner of the Greeks.* He modelled his style first upon Horace, then upon Pindar. He entered into close companionship of study with Antoine de Baïf and Joachim du Bellay. They who were not of the league laughed at the learned obscurities of Ronsard's "Pindarising." But Ronsard made his mark upon his time. His influence was felt by those poets in England who were aiming at the elevation of our literature by imitation of the Greeks and Latins. When, in his latter days, he was heavily afflicted not only with deafness but with gout, Queen Elizabeth herself was among Ronsard's readers and admirers. Mary Queen of Scots, in 1583, two or three years before his death and four years before her own, sent to him by the hands of the Sieur de Nauson, her

* "E. W." i. Introd. 57, 58.

secretary, two thousand dollars, and a vase in the form of Mount Parnassus with a Pegasus atop of it, inscribed

"*A Ronsard, l'Apollon de la source des Muses.*"

We find, then, that the classical influence which caused Sidney and Spenser to attempt English hexameters and sapphics did not merely proceed from a few English university men. It was part of a much larger movement of the time.*

The queen, Elizabeth, herself wrote verse.† There remains a translation by her in her girlhood of the chorus closing the second act of Seneca's "Hercules Oetæus." It is in 123 lines of blank verse, not inspired, although it has for theme the little faith in which a prince can trust, vices of courts, and safety of the middle way. Here are some lines of it—

Verses by Queen Elizabeth.

"The weight of sceptre's sway if choice must bear
Albeit the vulgar crew fill full thy gates
And hundred thresholds with their feet be smoothed,
Though with thy gleaves and axes thou be armed,
And root full great do glory give thy name,
Amid the view of all these sundry sorts
One faultless faith her room even scant may claim."

And these are the closing lines—

"Let one full happy be and highly flie,
God shield that mighty one the vulgar call:
The lee of shore my silly boat shall loathe,

* I have used here the sketch of Ronsard by his most intimate friend, Claude Binet, in *Archives Curieuses de l'Histoire de France depuis Louis XI. jusqu'a Louis XVIII. Ire Série. Tome x. Paris*, 1836.

† The whole of it is given more completely and more accurately than in Park's edition of Walpole's "Royal and Noble Authors" by Dr. Ewald Flügel of Leipzig, in "Anglia," vol. xiv., pp. 346–361 (1891), "Die Gedichte der Königin Elisabeth."

Let no full wind to depth my bark bequeath,
From safest creeks doth Fortune glide and shun,
With search in middest sea for tallest ships,
And takes it dearest prey the narre to cloud." *

There is also Elizabeth's translation, made in her youth, of the fourteenth Psalm, *Dixit insipiens*, first printed by Bale, in 1548, at the end of his version of Margaret of Navarre's "Godly Meditatyon of the christen sowle." There are also verses signed "Elisabethe the Prisonner, 1555," beginning

"Oh, Fortune, thy wrestling, wavering state
Hath fraught with cares my troubled wit."

These were first printed, in 1612, by Paul Hentzner in his *Itinerarium Germaniæ, Galliæ, Angliæ, Italiæ.* Elizabeth wrote also an epitaph in fourteen lines beginning, "When the warrior Phœbus go'th to make his round," upon the death of the Princess of Espinoye. It was printed, in 1584, in John Sothern's "Pandora." It was George Puttenham who first printed, in 1589, in his "Arte of Englishe Poesie," Queen Elizabeth's sixteen lines on the dangers threatening her from plots laid by the friends of Mary Stuart. Their date is about 1584—

"The doubt of future foes exiles my present joy
And wit me warns to shun such snares as threaten mine annoy,
For falsehood now doth flow, and subjects' faith doth ebb
Which should not be if reason ruled or wisdom weaved the web.
But clouds of joys untied do cloak aspiring minds
Which turns to rage of late repent by changéd course of winds.
The top of hope suppress, the root upreared shall be
And fruitless all their grafted guile, as shortly ye shall see.
The dazzled eyes with pride which great ambition blinds
Shall be unseeled by worthy wights who foresight falsehood finds;

* "It" for "its," which had not yet come into the language. "Narre," nearer—where it is nearer to the clouds.

The Daughter of Debate, that discord aye doth sow,
Shall reap no gain where former rule still peace hath taught to know.
No foreign banished wight shall anchor in this port,
Our realm brooks not sedition's sects, let them elsewhere resort:
My rusty sword through rest shall first his edge employ
To poll their tops that seeks such change or gape for future joy." *

There remain also two love songs written by Queen Elizabeth. They have been ascribed to the time "when she was supposed to be in love with Monsieur," and one of them, beginning with the line, "I grieve and dare not show my discontent," has been also said to be "relative to her passion for the Earl of Essex." Probably both are mere exercises in a fashionable accomplishment, written without any personal allusion. This is one of them—

"When I was fair and young, and favour graced me,
Of many was I sought their mistress for to be:
But I did scorn them all and answered them therefore
'Go, go, go, seek some otherwhere,
Importune me no more.'

"How many weeping eyes I made to pine with woe,
How many sighing hearts, I have no skill to show:
Yet I the prouder grew, and answered them therefore
'Go, go, go, seek some otherwhere,
Importune me no more.'

"Then spake fair Venus' son, that proud victorious boy,
And said: 'Fine Dame, since that you be so coy,
I will so pluck your plumes that you shall say no more,
'Go, go, go, seek some otherwhere,
Importune me no more."

* Quoted as given in Dr. Flügel's transcript from MS. Rawlinson Poet. 108, which differs in some words from the version in Puttenham. From MS. Rawlinson Poet. 85, Dr. Flügel has printed in "Anglia," for the first time, the love-song of Elizabeth's beginning, "When I was fayre and yonge." Her other love-song is in Rawlinson MS. 781 (p. 142), and in Tanner MS. 76 (fol. 94).

"When he had spake these words, such change grew in my breast
That neither night nor day, since that, I could take any rest.
Then, lo, I did repent that I had said before,
'Go, go, go, seek some otherwhere,
Importune me no more.'"

Puttenham quoted also a sentence of Queen Elizabeth's in defiance of Fortune—

"Never think you Fortûne can bear the sway
Where Virtue's force can cause her to obey."

Two scratchings with diamond on window-panes have been ascribed to her, one by Holinshed, who tells how, in 1555, the "ladie Elizabeth, hir departing out from Woodstock, wrote these verses with hir diamond in a glasse window verie legibly as here followeth—

"'Much suspected by me *
Nothing prooued can be
Quoth Elizabeth prisoner.'"

The other was her often-quoted answer to Sir Walter Raleigh, according to the account of him in Fuller's "Worthies of Devonshire." When he had written on a window, "Fain would I climb, yet fear I to fall," the queen wrote under it, "If thy heart fail thee, climb not at all." Her Majesty once also tried her skill at a hexameter, which she is said to have made when coming into a grammar school, and here it is—

"Persius a crabstaff, bawdy Martial, Ovid a fine wag."

Let us return to Spenser.

* By me = about me.

CHAPTER III.

OF SPENSER AND RALEIGH UNTIL 1586.

THE year in which it may be supposed that Shakespeare came to London was 1586, his age then being twenty-two.

Our literature before 1586.

We carry on, therefore, the story of our literature, taking that year as its present limit. It was the year also of the death of Philip Sidney, whose career will be described in the next chapter.

Edmund Spenser, having served the Earl of Leicester in some mission abroad, of which no record remains, but which is likely to have had, as Leicester's missions usually had, some reference to interests of the Protestant cause in Europe, returned to London, and was presently made private secretary to the newly appointed Lord-Deputy for Ireland. The new Deputy was Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton. Arthur, the fourteenth Baron Grey of Wilton, born about the year 1536, was eldest son of the William Lord Grey under whom Thomas Churchyard served in Guines and afterwards in Scotland.* Arthur, then about twenty-two years old, was with his father at Guines when the castle was taken, in January, 1558, and he was one of the hostages given for fulfilment of the conditions of surrender. About two years afterwards, on the fifteenth of April, 1560, he was wounded dangerously in the shoulder by a gunshot while

Spenser in Ireland.

Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton.

* "E. W." viii. 246.

repulsing, at the head of five hundred demi-lances, a sally of the besieged French garrison at Leith.* His father died in 1562, and Arthur then succeeded to a barony, of which the estate had been impoverished by heavy charges for William Lord Grey's ransom, due to the Count of Rochefoucault, after the taking of Guines Castle. To pay that ransom Wilton Castle had been sold, and when the son Arthur, at the age of twenty-six, succeeded to the barony, the family seat was at Whaddon, in Buckinghamshire. There the estates remained to the Greys, who held also the neighbouring manor of Eaton by the service of keeping one ger-falcon for the queen, whence the family bore for its crest a falcon on a glove. Arthur Lord Grey was also keeper of Whaddon Chase, and steward, under the Crown, of Olney park and bailiwick. In September, 1566, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton was summoned to Parliament. Two years later Queen Elizabeth, in a progress, honoured him with a visit at Whaddon. In 1572 he was elected a knight of the Garter, and there were then rumours that he would be appointed to Ireland. In the next year he was one of the peers for the trial of the Duke of Norfolk. After this he was, for some unknown reason, in disgrace at Court and imprisoned in the Fleet. He was released in 1574.

It may have been during this imprisonment that Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton wrote "A Commentarie of the Services and Charges that my Lord my Father was employed in while he lived," which was found in his own handwriting in a box of old deeds and papers at Oulton Park, Cheshire, in 1844, and was first published by the Camden Society in 1847.† A copy of this MS. was lent by Lord Grey to

* "E. W." viii. 253.

† "A Commentary of the Services and Charges of William Lord Grey of Wilton, K.G., by his son Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, K.G., with a Memoir of the Author and illustrative Documents. Edited by Sir Philip Malpas Grey Egerton, Bart." London, 1847.

Raphael Holinshed, who used it as material in compilation of his "Chronicles," and repeated some parts of it word for word. The sketch of William Lord Grey's services must therefore have been written by his son before 1577, when the first edition of those "Chronicles" appeared.

After unsuccessful pleadings for employment in the service of the State, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton received towards the end of June, 1580, a sudden notice that he must proceed after ten days to Ireland as Lord Deputy. "Scarborough warning"* he called this in a letter to the Earl of Sussex, for he was unprepared and had lost hope of employment. He was sent out when Sir William Pelham, who described Ireland as the grave of English reputations, was by his own wish recalled.

The rebellion headed by the Earl of Desmond, after partial suppression, had again grown dangerous. The Earl of Ormond and Sir William Pelham marched into Kerry with two divisions of the army, wasting the land and slaying men and women, old and young. They reasoned—as afterwards Spenser reasoned—that to strike immediate terror was best mercy in the end. In July, 1580, the month of Arthur Lord Grey's appointment as Lord Deputy, James Eustace, third Viscount Baltinglas, of Baltinglas, in Wicklow, sent defiance to the Earl of Ormond in the Pope's name, and repudiated the authority of Queen Elizabeth, a woman, as head of the Church. He had not sufficient following, and at the end of the next year escaped to Spain, where he died in 1585. After Lord Baltinglas had left Ireland his property was confiscated to the Crown, and his house in Dublin

* This phrase arose from the fact that in 1557 Thomas Stafford with a small company took Scarborough Castle by surprise when the townspeople had no notice whatever of his approach. Within six days afterwards Stafford himself was taken, brought to London, and beheaded.

was granted to Edmund Spenser. That is a glance forward from which we return at once to July, 1580.

Detained on the way for ten days at Beaumaris by a contrary wind, the new Lord Deputy, accompanied by Spenser as his private secretary, landed at Dublin on the second of August, 1580. On Sunday, the eleventh of September, four Spanish vessels entered Smerwick Bay and landed soldiers of the Pope, Spanish and Italian, with Dr. Nicholas Sanders, the Pope's nuncio.

Nicholas Sanders was of Charlwood, in Surrey. He was educated at Winchester School, and went in 1548 to New College. At Oxford he graduated, in 1551, as Bachelor of Laws. In 1557 Sanders lectured upon law at Oxford, but after Elizabeth's accession, being unable to conform to the Reformed Church, he left England in 1560 and went to Rome, where he was ordained priest and made Doctor of Divinity. In 1563, the last year of the Council of Trent, Dr. Nicholas Sanders went to Trent with the Polish Cardinal Stanislaus Hosius, and distinguished himself by his skill in argument. Hosius, who was himself a writer of some mark, liked Sanders so well that he took him into Poland and made him his companion in travel through Prussia and Lithuania. In 1566 Sanders published at Louvain, with a dedication "To the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ," a book on the Roman view of the Eucharist, addressed to English readers, "The Supper of our Lord set foorth in six Bookes according to the Truth of the Gospell and the Faith of the Catholike Church." There was added to it "the seuenth Book containing a Confutation of the fifth article of M. Iuel's reply against D. Harding." * In the following year, again publishing at Louvain, Dr. Nicholas Sanders (whose name was written also Sander and Saunders) addressed his countrymen in defence of the use of images,

Nicholas Sanders.

* "E. W." viii. 202.

describing his book as "A Treatise of the Images of Christ and of his Saints : and that it is vnlawfull to breake them, and lawful to honour them. With a Confutation of such false doctrine as M. Iewel hath vttered in his Replie, concerning that matter." In the same year, 1567, Dr. Sanders issued also from Fouler's press at Louvain, "The Rocke of the Churche wherein the Primacy of S. Peter and of his Successours the Bishops of Rome is proued out of God's Worde." Sanders next published at Louvain, in 1568, "A briefe Treatise of Usurie." This was followed, in 1571, by a Latin treatise in eight books on the Visible Monarchy of the Church, which two years later was answered in Latin by Bartholomew Clerk in a book published at London by John Day. That one of the books published by Nicholas Sanders which has had most influence upon the minds of other men was not published until after his death. It was his Latin history of the origin and progress of the Anglican schism : *Nicolai Sanderi de Origine ac Progressu Schismatis Anglicani libri tres.* This work was freely drawn upon by later controversialists. It was first published at Cologne in 1585, completed and revised by Edward Rishton. There were two other editions in 1586, one published at Ingolstadt, another at Rome, and there was another edition at Ingolstadt in 1588.* Another book by Sanders that appeared after his death was a thick octavo in Latin against Luther's doctrine of Justification by Faith. This also was first published in 1585.

In November, 1577, Dr. Sanders had been of opinion that the welfare of Europe depended on the stout assailing of England. In July, 1579, he landed in the harbour of Dingle, on the coast of Kerry, with James Fitzmaurice Fitzgerald (known as the "arch-traitor"), Matthew of Oviedo,

* There were editions also at Cologne in 1610 and 1628, and there was a translation into French in 1673–4, which caused Burnet to write his "History of the Reformation in the Church of England."

Apostolic Commissary, a few friars and English refugees, and about five-and-twenty Spanish and Italian fighting men. They left Dingle for Smerwick Bay, about four miles distant, where they chose a rock which they joined to the shore by a wooden bridge, and shaped into a fort called "del Ore." Here they received from two galleys the addition of a hundred foreign soldiers. In four days their ships had been taken by the English fleet under Sir William Winter. Fitzmaurice was killed in a skirmish when upon his way to pay vows at a monastery in Tipperary. Treacherous murder of two English officers, who had come as guests into the house of the Earl of Desmond's brother, forced the Desmond clan to join in the rebellion for protection of its chief. There was active war during the winter of 1579-80.

Spenser and Raleigh before the Fort del Ore.

About the twenty-sixth of February, 1580, two Spanish barks touched at Dingle to learn whether it was true that the rebellion had been crushed. They carried away vehement letters from Dr. Sanders to urge the speedy sending of more soldiers into Ireland. The Spaniards and other foreigners in the fort, though few in number, held their ground against attack. Then came, in September, 1580, the four ships in the Pope's service, that landed about four hundred men and carried away more than two hundred, sick or malcontent. There were rumours, also, of a larger Spanish force upon the way. The new men, under Sebastian St. Joseph, strengthened the Pope's fort and victualled it; so it became very necessary to use force enough for the certain taking of the Fort del Ore.

On the thirty-first of October, 1580, the Lord Deputy, attended by his secretary Spenser, encamped his troops of horsemen eight or ten miles from the fort, waiting for Admiral Winter, whose ships came into the harbour of Smerwick on Saturday, the fifth of November. On the same day the Lord Deputy, having brought his camp closer

to the doomed fort, received out of the ships eight culverins, with a supply of powder and shot. On Monday, the seventh of November, the Lord Deputy pitched his tent within cannon shot of the fort, and with help of the men from the ships carried on the digging of the trench so far that, on the same night, two culverins were placed within three hundred yards of the enemy. The besiegers opened fire on Tuesday morning, and before two o'clock in the afternoon they had dismounted all the pieces in the fort. On Wednesday, the ninth, the attack was pressed so closely that at four in the afternoon the leaders of the besieged came bareheaded with a white flag to the rampart, and asked for parley to arrange terms of surrender. They were obliged to surrender absolutely, yielding themselves to the Lord Deputy's will for life or death. Hostages were asked for and given, all further action being left till the next day, and during the night the trench was carried to within sixty paces of the fort, and two more culverins were planted. What happened on Thursday, the tenth of November, is best told in the Lord Deputy's own words, from his despatch to the queen written "from the camp at Smerwick" two days later. "Morning came: I presented my forces in battle before the fort. The coronel came with ten or eleven of his chief gentlemen, trailing their ensigns, rolled up, and presented them to me with their lives and the fort. I sent straight certain gentlemen in to see their weapons and armours laid down, and to guard the munition and victual, then left, from spoil: then I put in certain bands who straight fell to execution. There were six hundred slain, ammunition and victual great store, though much wasted through the disorders of the soldiers which in the fusion could not be helped."

Spenser assented to the action of his chief, and afterwards defended it as of that form of merciful severity which brings the miseries of warfare to a speedy end. If Spenser stood by on the evening before this massacre and heard the

Lord Deputy's answer to the plea for mercy, he would have assented with his whole mind to that also; for he, too—as we shall find in his "Faerie Queene"—treated Catholicism as "the diabolical faith," and at a time when the allegiance due from subjects to their sovereign had a large place in the political faith of Europe, he was no more likely than the good Puritan, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton, to conceive that Roman Catholic subjects of the Pope could reasonably plead that they had done their duty in obeying the Pope's orders. "I said," wrote the Lord Deputy to Queen Elizabeth, "I said I found two nations, and willed a Spanish captain to be by, who came. I said I marvelled, their nation at peace with your Majesty, they should come. The Spaniard said the king had not sent them, but one John Martines di Ricaldi, Governor for the King at Bilboa. The other avouched that they were all sent by the Pope for the defence of the *Catholica Fide.* I answered, I marvelled that men of that accompt as some of them made show of should be carried into unjust, wicked, and desperate actions by one that neither from God or man could claim any princely power or empire; but indeed a detestable shaveling, the right Antichrist, and general ambitious tyrant over all right principalities, and patron of the *Diabolica Fide,* I could not rest but greatly wonder. Their fault, therefore, I saw to be greatly aggravated by the malice of their commander, and at my hands no condition, no composition were they to expect, other than they should simply render me the fort, and yield themselves to my will for life or death."

One of the captains of the day whose duty it was to "proceed to execution" of the garrison in the surrendered fort was Walter Raleigh, and it was probably in this expedition against the Fort del Ore that Spenser and Raleigh first became acquainted. Walter Raleigh.

We left Raleigh * in London after his return, in the

* "E. W." viii. 401, 402.

early summer of 1579, with his half-brother, Humphrey Gilbert, from an unsuccessful voyage of discovery, which, if the ships of the Spaniards had not been too strong for him, was to have led to the planting of a colony with Humphrey Gilbert for its governor. Gilbert, who had in former years seen much service in Ireland and some in the Netherlands, after return from his baulked expedition served in the ships sent under Sir John Perrot to assist against the insurrection raised in Ireland by James Fitzmaurice. This brought him no advantage. He complained, after his return, that twenty-seven years' service left him subject to daily arrests, executions, and outlawries. But he was labouring for means of carrying out his scheme of colonisation, and doing something before 1584, when the date of the powers granted by his charter would expire.

Walter Raleigh left England with what he describes, in a letter to Lord Burleigh, as "a foot band of a hundred men," who were engaged under Lord Justice Pelham against insurrection in Ireland. He was so employed when Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton became Lord Deputy. Raleigh, too, was a believer in the mercies of severity for quick suppression of rebellion. He went to Dublin to protest against leniency shown by Lord Grey to Lord Barry of Barry Court, in the county of Cork, and rode back with power to seize his castle and bring him to submission. Raleigh was attacked on the way by a numerous force waiting for him in ambush, and with the loss of his horse came, with all his men, safe out of a struggle in which he risked his life to save a friend from Devonshire, Henry Moyle, who had twice foundered in a bog. When Raleigh was unhorsed he for a time defended himself singly, with pistol and quarterstaff, against twenty assailants. By boldness of action he surprised Lord Barry in his castle, and carried him to Cork. Captain Raleigh was well known in the force at Smerwick Bay for his proved skill and daring.

It is not from the despatch of the Lord Deputy that we read of Raleigh's part in the massacre of the garrison, but from the edition of Holinshed's "Chronicles" published in 1586 as "now newlie augmented and continued (with manifold Matters of singular Note and worthie Memorie) to the year 1586, by John Hooker, alias Vowell, Gent. and others." It is John Hooker who says here that, on the day of the execution at Fort del Ore, "Captain Raleigh with Captain Mackworth entered into the Castle and made a great slaughter." His authority is good, for this continuer of Holinshed—uncle to the more famous Richard Hooker—was an Exeter man, son of a Robert Hooker who was Mayor of Exeter in 1529. John Hooker studied at Oxford, probably graduated in law, then travelled abroad. In 1555 he was elected the first Chamberlain of the City of Oxford. Soon afterwards he went to Ireland as solicitor to Sir Peter Carew, and in 1568 he sat in the Irish Parliament for Athenry. The section of Irish history which was one of the contributions of John Hooker to the continuation of Holinshed was dedicated to Sir Walter Raleigh, about whose actions, as a Devonshire neighbour, Hooker may have had information at first hand.

John Hooker.

In a confidential letter of the twenty-fifth of February, 1581, to the queen's principal secretary, Raleigh speaks impatiently of Thomas Butler, tenth Earl of Ormond, who was Governor of Munster and General of the Forces. Thomas Butler, then within a year of fifty, and called from his complexion the "Black Earl," was a boy of fourteen when he became Earl of Ormond, on his father's death by poison. He spent much of his youth in the English Court, and was the first of his line who became a Protestant. Desmond and he had their estates in Munster, and there was fierce feud between the families. When Ormond was appointed Military Governor

Raleigh in Ireland: 1581.

65048

of Munster to crush the rebellion of the Desmonds, he claimed that in three months following March, 1580, he had put to the sword forty-six captains, eight hundred notorious traitors and malefactors, and four thousand other persons. In the letter of February, 1581, Raleigh complained that Ormond withheld from him the keeping of Barry Court, as if desiring to enrich himself thereby, and that a Butler—because of the hatred of the Geraldines to the Butlers—never can make peace in Munster. So, "after Her Majesty hath spent a hundred thousand pound more, she shall at last be driven by too dear experience to send an English President to follow these malicious traitors with fire and sword, neither respecting the alliance nor the nation. Would God, your Honour and Her Majesty, as well as my poor self understood how pitifully the service here goeth forward; considering that this man having now been Lord General of Munster now about two years, there are now at this instant a thousand traitors more than there were on the first day. Would God the service of Sir Humphrey Gilbert might be rightly looked into; who, with the third part of the garrison now in Ireland, ended a rebellion not much inferior to this in two months. Or would God his own behaviour were such in peace as it did not make his good service forgotten, and hold him from the service he is worthy of!" It had been in October, 1569, that Humphrey Gilbert, after he had defeated MacCarthy More, was placed in command of the province of Munster, and wrote to Sir Henry Sidney, then Lord Deputy, that he was determined to have neither parley nor peace with any rebel, as he was convinced that no conquered nation could be ruled with gentleness. It had been for his services in Munster that Humphrey Gilbert was knighted at Drogheda by Sir Henry Sidney.

Thomas Butler, Earl of Ormond, in April, 1581, declared himself weary of killing, and persuaded Elizabeth to try a

policy of peace by pardoning all the rebels except Desmond and his brothers. For a time Ormond was withdrawn, and the government of Munster given in commission to Raleigh and two others. Raleigh had his headquarters first at Lismore and afterwards at Cork. From Lismore he wrote, in August, 1581, to the Earl of Leicester, as an adherent whom the earl appeared to have forgotten: "Your honour having no use of such poor followers hath utterly forgotten me. Yet I will be found as ready and dare as much in your service as any man you may command." In December, 1581, Raleigh left Cork for England with despatches.

In February, 1582, Raleigh—who often signed his name as it was pronounced, Rauley, and had his name written by others Rawley—went in the train of Leicester to the Netherlands as part of the escort of the Duke of Anjou to Antwerp, Anjou being then Duke of Brabant and chosen sovereign of the Netherlands. In April, 1582, there was a new warrant for a commission to Raleigh in Ireland. He was to be captain of a band of footmen, "chiefly that our pleasure is to have our servant Walter Rawley trained some time longer in that our realm for his better experience in martial affairs"; but also his charge was to be committed to a lieutenant until his arrival in Ireland, "because he is for some considerations detained in England."

Raleigh in England: 1582–1586.

One consideration that detained Raleigh in England was the queen's high favour, which at this time he acquired. He remained at Court, and did not return to military service in Ireland. In May, 1583, Captain Raleigh's influence with the queen caused him to be intercessor, by Lord Burghley's wish, for the Earl of Oxford, who was in trouble for a brawl with Thomas Knevett, of the Privy Council. Raleigh was then thirty years old, poet and man of action, vigorous of mind and body; as a courtier tall, handsome,

richly dressed; with oval features, dark hair, and dark eyes. He shared his half-brother's enthusiasm for colonisation. He was adventurous, and would take upon himself responsibilities at sea by which his country might be served and the Government not compromised. He sang the queen's praise as Cynthia. He poured into her ear in private talk great dreams of empire yet to be acquired beyond the sea, that should balance or outweigh the power drawn by Spain from the New World. To what good use he could put ships sent out under his own private orders, if he were but rich enough to put much money to such uses! The queen, warmed by the eloquence that set such visions before her and appealed to by what was noble in her sense of her great office, began now to heap upon Raleigh the means of making money. She began in March, 1584, and continued in 1585, 1587, 1589, to bestow on him profitable grants of licence to export woollen broadcloths. She gave him, in 1584, a valuable licence for the farm of wines. In July, 1585, she made him, upon the death of Francis Earl of Bedford, Lord Warden of the Stannaries. Two months later she made him Lieutenant of the county of Cornwall, and soon afterwards Vice-Admiral of Cornwall and Devon. The conspiracy of Anthony Babington, that led in 1586 to his attainder, was followed on the seventeenth of March, 1587, by the queen's grant to Raleigh of nearly all the estates Babington had forfeited. To his small patrimony in Devonshire there were thus added three manors and other lands in Lincolnshire; a manor, besides other lands and tenements, in Derbyshire; and possessions in Nottinghamshire. In the same year, 1587, Raleigh succeeded Sir Christopher Hatton as Captain of the Queen's Guard. That was an office costly to its holder, but it gave the gain of constant nearness to the person of the queen.

To the expedition made by his half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, for the colonisation of Newfoundland,

in 1583—the last year before the expiration of his charter—Raleigh contributed the largest of the five vessels, a bark named *The Raleigh*. On Monday, the fifth of August, Gilbert, in the name of the queen, took possession of the harbour of St. John and two hundred leagues every way around it, so planting the first English colony in North America. On his way homeward, after many troubles, in his little craft *The Squirrel* of ten tons burthen, his friends on *The Golden Hind*, a companion vessel, saw him on the ninth of September, 1583, sitting in storm abaft *The Squirrel* with a book in his hand. When they were tossed within hearing he called to them, "Courage, friends! We are as near heaven by sea as by land." At midnight the watch on *The Golden Hind* saw the lights of *The Squirrel* disappear as the waves swept over the little overloaded craft, engulphing all who were on board.

Colonisation: Newfoundland and Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

But the work went on. The spirit of Humphrey Gilbert was in Walter Raleigh, who, on the twenty-fifth of March in the next year, 1584, obtained for himself, his heirs, and assigns, a new charter empowering him to discover remote heathen and barbarous lands not actually possessed by any Christian prince nor inhabited by Christian people; to hold them, by the queen's letters patent, with licence to inhabit or remain, build and fortify, at his or their discretion. Power was given him to take such of the queen's subjects as should willingly accompany him, and to use sufficient shipping and furniture for their transportation. He was to have all rights and royalties within the lands so colonised and the seas adjoining, reserving only to the Crown of England homage and a fifth part of all the ore of gold and silver that might be obtained. All inhabitants of such lands, and persons born in them after they had been colonised, were to have "all the privileges of free denizens and persons native in England in such ample

Colonisation: Walter Raleigh and Virginia.

manner as if they were born and personally resident in Our said realm."

A few days after the granting of this charter Raleigh sent out two captains, Philip Amadas and Arthur Barlow, who, in July, 1584, took possession of Roanoake. This was the first act in the foundation of the colony named, after the Virgin Queen Elizabeth, Virginia. The right to give that name to the fertile region which it was now proposed to colonise was granted after the return of the discoverers in September, 1584. For this service Raleigh was knighted, and he then described himself as Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord and Governor of Virginia. By the end of March, in 1585, Raleigh had ready a new fleet of seven sail, that left Plymouth in April, with Sir Richard Grenville in command of the expedition, and a hundred householders. The householders were to become colonists under the direction of Ralph Lane, who had Philip Amadas for his deputy. No householder who joined in this adventure was offered less than five hundred acres of land. The colonists fell into difficulties and disasters which the coloniser sought continually, with undaunted energy, to avert or overcome. Raleigh is said to have spent forty thousand pounds upon this effort to lay the foundations of another England on the other side of the Atlantic. It was for this work with a high aim that the queen honoured him, and gave him the substantial marks of favour by which he was helped to bear the heavy costs of his experiment.

Spenser in Ireland: 1581 to 1586.

Spenser, meanwhile, remained in Ireland. On the twenty-second of March, 1581, he obtained by purchase from Lodowick Bryskett the office of Clerk of the Irish Court of Chancery, or Registrar of Chancery for the Faculties. He held that office until 1588, when he was made Clerk of the Council of Munster. In the year 1581, Spenser obtained also a lease of the abbey and castle and manor of Enniscorthy, in

Wexford. This he sold at once to Richard Synot, who sold it again, ten or eleven years later, to Sir Henry Wallop. With help of the money received for Enniscorthy, Spenser bought for re-sale another abbey in New Ross. In January, 1582, Spenser was entered in a list furnished by the Lord Deputy of persons benefited by the forfeited estates, as having a lease for six years of a house in Dublin, part of the forfeited estate of Lord Baltinglas. There was also entered in this list "a *custodiam* of John Eustace's land of the Newland to Edmund Spenser, one of the Lord Deputy's secretaries." On the twenty-fourth of August, 1582, letters patent were passed to Edmund Spenser giving possession of the dissolved House of Minorites of the New Abbey in the county of Kildare for twenty-one years, at a rent of sixty shillings, but when no rent had been paid for seven years and a half that lease was forfeited. Again, in the year 1582, the Book of Concordatums has an entry of £162 granted to Spenser for "rewards," or secret service money, paid by him as secretary to the Lord Deputy.

On the thirty-first of August, 1582, Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton received the letter of recall for which he had long petitioned. Since the affair of the Fort del Ore he had frustrated a plot against the Government in Dublin; had brought Turlough O'Neil to submission in the North; had visited Munster and complained of the free pardoning of rebels, "whereby the soldiers were letted from the destruction of their corn." He had been thwarted at Court; the queen had ordered him to reduce the army to three thousand men; and of his reputation also, notwithstanding his intense religious earnestness and his fidelity to his own sense of duty, Ireland threatened to become the grave. For Irish policy was tossed among the factions of self-interested men. Arthur Grey returned, therefore, to England in September, 1582, and settled again at Whaddon, pressed by debts that his service to the queen in Ireland had brought

upon him. He suffered like Sir Henry Sidney, who, three times Lord Deputy, was for each of those three times three thousand pounds the poorer in estate. Spenser remained in Ireland, where his home was in Dublin, in the forfeited house of Lord Baltinglas, and he was busy with his work as Clerk of Chancery.

The population of Ireland at that time was estimated roughly as equal to about an eighth part of the population of England. There were not more than five millions in England, and, if the proportion was rightly suggested, all Ireland contained a population of six hundred thousand. So much of this as had been Anglicised in times long past yielded, as was rightly said, chiefs more Hibernian than the Hibernians themselves.

Gerald Fitzgerald, Earl of Desmond, after the destruction of Fort del Ore, was a hunted man. In June, 1581, nearly caught near Castlemange, he escaped to the woods in his shirt. Next Christmas he was almost caught in Kilquegg Wood, near Kilmallock. Escape followed escape until daybreak on Monday, the eleventh of November, 1583, when the only companions left to him were a priest, two horsemen, a kerne, and a boy. He was surprised that morning by five soldiers in the woods of Glanaginty. To make sure against rescue, his head was at once cut off and sent to England. In 1586 Desmond's estates were forfeited by Act of Parliament, and the scheme was devised for the settlement of loyal English "undertakers" upon forfeited estates in Munster which brought Spenser to Kilcolman.

Bryskett's "Discourse of Civil Life."

Lodowick Bryskett, who had friends in Florence, and may have been himself of Italian origin, had studied at Trinity College, Cambridge, without taking a degree. In 1571 he was, for a time, serving in Ireland as Clerk of the Council under Sir Henry Sidney. In 1572 he became the companion of

young Philip Sidney during his three years of foreign travel. In 1577 he took the office of Clerk of the Irish Chancery, which Spenser bought of him in 1581. He and Spenser had become friends. Spenser employed some of his leisure time in helping Bryskett to learn Greek. Bryskett remained for some years in service of the Crown in Ireland, and in 1606, when he published his translation from Giraldi, "A Discourse of Civill Life, containing the Ethike Part of Morall Philosophie," he was reputed to have large estates in Dublin, Cavan, and Cork. Although Bryskett's "Discourse of Civill Life" was not published until 1606, its Introduction indicates that this translation was made in Ireland before 1589, after which date Sir Robert Cecil, in a letter to Sir George Carew, speaks of Bryskett as "an ancient servitor of the realm of Ireland, and now employed by her Majesty beyond the seas." Giovanbattista Giraldi was the Cinthio of the *Hecatommithi*,* a busy writer of great mark in his own time, who died at the end of the year 1573, aged sixty-nine. Besides writing the hundred tales, or *Hecatommithi*, and nine tragedies in Italian, he was a doctor and professor of medicine at Ferrara, where he taught rhetoric, as he had before taught it in Mondovi and Pavia, and acted also as secretary to the reigning Duke. His three Dialogues on Civil life, designed as guides for the training of children and to teach self-rule to the young, were widely known to readers of Italian because they were published together with the *Hecatommithi*, which were themselves set forth upon their title page as moral aids to a right life.†

* "E. W." viii. 292, 293.

† This is the title-page of the book as published at Venice in 1580, probably the book from which Bryskett made his translation: "Hecatommithi, ouero Cento Novelle di M. Giovanbattista Giraldi Cinthio nobile Ferrarese: Nelle quali, oltre le dilletteuoli materie, si conoscono moralità vtilissime a gli huomini per il ben viuere; & per destare altresì l'intelletto alla sagacità. Potendosi da esse con facilità apprendere il vero modo di scriuere Toscano. *Et vi sono tre Dialoghi della Vita*

The speakers in Giraldi's Three Dialogues were Fabio, Lelio, and Torquato, gentlemen of Rome, and Giannettino d' Oria, a nobleman of Genoa. Bryskett, when he published his version, set it in a dialogue among friends of his own, which may have been all invented, but seems to have been invention based upon the recollection of three days when friends were really met, as he says, in his cottage near Dublin, to hear him read the three parts of his book to them. His aim was to write dialogue-wise a pleasant introduction to the translation of a set of dialogues, and to put in corresponding form some comments upon each of the three books. It is not necessary that we should take an introduction so planned as giving an exact report of what was actually said in Bryskett's cottage. But even if Bryskett drew every word of his own dialogue out of his own imaginings, he was using the names of his friends, and basing his suggestion of their talk on knowledge of their lives and characters. He was at least inventing possible talks, with familiar knowledge of the conditions of life among English officials in Dublin.

Bryskett's View of Spenser.

In what Spenser is made to say of "The Faerie Queene," upon which he was busy in Ireland, there is nothing told that was not perfectly well known to every reader of the first three books, published sixteen years before Bryskett's book appeared. Bryskett's book added nothing at all to our knowledge of Spenser. But it gave the names of some of his friends and companions in Ireland, and showed him talking as he might have talked, touching upon him with personal knowledge that would give to its narrative, even if the whole incident were invented, the proper colouring of truth.

"A Discourse of Civill Life: Containing the Ethike

Civile, li quali a gli huomini mostrano come deuono ammaestrare i loro figliuoli, & a giouani come ben reggersi. In Venetia, appresso Fabio & Agostin Zopini Fratelli. MDLXXX."

part of Morall Philosophie. Fit for the instructing of a gentleman in the course of a vertuous life. By Lod. Br. London, printed for William Aspley, 1606," was described as "Written to the right honourable Arthur, late Earl Grey of Wilton," who had died on the fourteenth of October, 1593, and was dedicated to "his singular good Lord, Robert Earl of Salisbury." Bryskett's introduction says that the occasion of its discourse "grew by the visitation of certain gentlemen coming to me to my little cottage which I had newly built near unto Dublin at such a time as, rather to prevent sickness than for any present grief, I had in the spring of the year begun a course to take some physic during a few days. Among which were Dr. Long, Primate of Armagh, Sir Robert Dillon, knight, M. Dormer, the Queen's Solicitor, Captain Christopher Carleil, Captain Thomas Norreis, Captain Warham St. Leger, Captain Nicolas Dawtrey, and M. Edmond Spenser, late your Lordship's Secretary, and Th. Smith, Apothecary." The only object of Bryskett's writing in this matter being to produce an introduction to his translation of an Italian book on ethics, he proceeds to discourse on "the happiness of the Italians who have in their mother tongue late writers that have with a singular easy method taught that which Plato or Aristotle have confusedly or obscurely left written." Giraldi is named as one of three late writers. Bryskett wishes that some Englishman would do like service in English. He says that he plods on as he can with help of the Italians; but what if Spenser would assist? Spenser is not only perfect in Greek, but well read in philosophy. "Nevertheless," Bryskett goes on,

"Nevertheless such is my bashfulnes, as I never yet durst open my mouth to disclose this my desire unto him, though I have not wanted some hartning thereto from himselfe. For of love and kindnes to me he encouraged me long sithens to follow the reading of the Greeke tongue, and offered me his helpe to make me understand it. But now that so good an opportunitie is offered vnto me to satisfy in some

sort my desire, I thinke I should commit a great fault, not to myselfe alone, but to all this company, if I should not enter my request thus farre, as to moue him to spend this time which we have now destined to familiar discourse and conuersation in declaring unto us the great benefits which men obtaine by the knowledge of Morall Philosophie, and in making us to know what the same is, what be the parts thereof, whereby vertues are to be distinguished from vices; and finally that he will be pleased to run ouer in such order as he shall thinke good, such and so many principles and rules thereof as shall serue not only for my better instruction but also for the contentment and satisfaction of you al. For I nothing doubt but that euery one of you will be glad to heare so profitable a discourse and thinke the time very wel spent wherin so excellent a knowledge shal be reuealed unto you, from which euery one may be assured to gather some fruit as wel as myselfe. Therefore (said I) turning myselfe to *M. Spenser*, It is you, sir, to whom it pertaineth to shew yourselfe courteous now unto us all and to make vs all beholding unto you for the pleasure and profit which we shall gather from your speeches, if you shall vouchsafe to open unto vs the goodly cabinet in which this excellent treasure of vertues lieth locked up from the vulgar sort. And thereof, in the behalfe of all as for myselfe, I do most earnestly intreate you not to say vs nay. Vnto which wordes of mine euery man applauding, most with like words of request and the rest with gesture and countenances expressing as much, *M. Spenser* answered in this maner: Though it may seeme hard for me to refuse the request made by you all, whom euery one alone I should for many respects be willing to gratifie, yet as the case standeth, I doubt not but with the consent of the most part of you I shall be excused at this time of this taske which would be laid vpon me. For sure I am, that it is not vnknowne unto you that I haue already vndertaken a work tending to the same effect, which is in heroical verse under the title of a *Faerie Queene* to represent all the moral vertues, assigning to euery vertue a Knight to be the patron and defender of the same, in whose actions and feates of arms and chiualry the operations of that vertue whereof he is the protector are to be expressed, and the vices and unruly appetites that oppose themselves against the same to be beaten down and ouercome. Which work, as I haue already well entred into, if God shall please to spare me life that I may finish it according to my mind, your wish (*M. Bryskett*) will be in some sort accomplished, though perhaps not so effectually as you could desire. And the same may very well serue for my excuse, if at this time I craue to be forborne in this your request, since any discourse that I might make thus on the sudden in such a subject would be but simple, and little to your satisfactions. For it would require good aduisement

and premeditation for any man to vndertake the declaration of these points that you have proposed, containing in effect the Ethicke part of Morall Philosophie. Whereof since I haue taken in hand to discourse at large in my poeme before spoken, I hope the expectation of that work may serue to free me at this time from speaking in that matter, notwithstanding your motion and all your intreaties. But I will tell you how I thinke by himselfe he may very well excuse my speech, and yet satisfie all you in this matter. I haue seene (as he knoweth) a translation made by himselfe out of the Italian tongue of a dialogue comprehending all the Ethick part of Moral Philosophy, written by one of those three he formerly mentioned, and that is by *Giraldi* vnder the title of a dialogue of ciuil life. If it please him to bring us forth that translation to be here read among vs, or otherwise to deliuer to us, as his memory may serue him, the contents of the same, he shal (I warrant you) satisfie you all at the ful, and himselfe wil haue no cause but to thinke the time well spent in reuiewing his labors, especially in the company of so many his friends, who may thereby reape much profit and the translation happily fare the better by some mending it may receiue in the perusing, as all writings else may do by the often examination of the same. Neither let it trouble him that I so turne ouer to him againe the taske he wold haue put me to; for it falleth out fit for him to verifie the principall of all this Apologie euen now made for himselfe; because thereby it will appeare that he hath not withdrawne himselfe from seruice of the state to liue idle or wholly priuate to himselfe, but hath spent some time in doing that which may greatly benefit others and hath serued not a little to the bettering of his owne mind and increasing of his knowledge, though he for modesty pretend much ignorance, and pleade want in wealth, much like some rich beggars who either of custom or for couetousness go to begge of others those things whereof they haue no want at home. With this answer of *M. Spensers* it seemed that all the company were wel satisfied, for after some few speeches whereby they had shewed an extreme longing after his worke of the *Faerie Queene*, whereof some parcels had been by some of them seene, they all began to presse me to produce my translation mentioned by *M. Spenser* that it might be perused among them; or else that I should (as near as I could) deliuer unto them the contents of the same, supposing that my memory would not much faile me in a thing so studied and advisedly set downe in writing as a translation must be."

Bryskett proceeded, therefore, to read his translation. The reading occupied three days, on each of which the

company came out of Dublin into Bryskett's cottage, where they were all hospitably entertained, and there was produced a pleasant comment on the text of the translation of Giraldi's dialogue, by their own dialogue between its parts. The Lord Primate of Armagh, Sir Robert Dillon, Captains Dawtrey, Dormer, and Carleil, and Edmund Spenser are among the speakers. They include in their talk praise of the ploughing and harrowing of the land by my Lord Grey, in a way that suggests a date before his recall, at the end of August, 1582, Sir Robert Dillon saying of him, "'God of His goodness grant that when he hath finished his work, He may be pleased to send us such another Bayly to oversee and preserve their labours, that this poor country may by a settled form of Government, and by due and equal administration of justice, begin to flourish as other Commonweals.' To which all saying Amen, we directed our course to walk up the hill where we had been the day before; and sitting down upon the little mount awhile to rest the company that had come from Dublin, we arose again and walked in the green way, talking still of the great hope that was conceived of the quiet of the country since the foreign enemy had so been vanquished, and the domestical conspiracies discovered and met withal, and the rebels clear rooted out."

CHAPTER IV.

OF SEAFARERS, AND OF SIR PHILIP SIDNEY.

PHILIP SIDNEY, whom we left, in the year 1579, praised to the queen by William the Silent as one who might be greatest among statesmen,* had, like Raleigh, a keen interest in those adventures over sea that might help to make his country greatest among nations. When Philip Sidney's father was a young man of four-and-twenty, in the year 1553, he had among his retainers the good seaman Richard Chancellor, who in that year went as captain of the *Edward Bonaventure* in the expedition northward, under Sir Hugh Willoughby, for the discovery of a north-east passage to India. Chancellor had been "nourished and maintained" by Sir Henry Sidney, who, in recommending him for service to the Merchant Adventurers, said, "You know the man by report, I by experience; you by words, I by deeds; you by speech and company, but I by the daily trial of his life have a full and perfect knowledge of him." On that voyage Henry Sidney's friend, separated from his companion ships, made his way alone in the *Edward Bonaventure* into the White Sea, went overland to Moscow, obtained freedom of trade for English ships with Muscovy, and led to the establishment of that Muscovy Company to which Turbervile referred in his poems written from Russia.† This

Adventures over Sea: Henry Sidney; Richard Chancellor.

* 'E. W.' viii. 404.

† "E. W." ix. 31.

voyage of Chancellor's made Russia first known to the rest of Europe.

When Chancellor came back to England in the summer of 1554, Clement Adams—a Warwickshire man, then about thirty-five years old, who had been educated at Eton and at King's College, Cambridge, and had taken his degree of M.A. in 1544—was schoolmaster to King Edward VI.'s henchmen. He had been appointed to that office in May, 1552. Adams was interested strongly in details of adventure and discovery by sea. He had published for the use of English Merchant Adventurers a copy of the "Mappemonde" in which Sebastian Cabot set forth the discoveries of himself and John Cabot, his father. Clement Adams drew from Richard Chancellor, after his return from Muscovy, an account of what he had seen, and set it down in writing as *Nova Anglorum ad Moscovitas Navigatio, Hugone Willowbeio equite classis præfecto et Richardo Cancelero nauarcho. Authore Clemente Adamo, Anglo.* This narrative was first published by Richard Hakluyt in 1589, with a translation—probably made by himself—into English. In editions of Hakluyt's Collections after 1589, the original Latin text was omitted. Chancellor made a second voyage to the White Sea in the *Edward Bonaventure.* He was at Moscow in November, 1555, but in November, 1556, he was lost by the wreck of his ship on the journey home, when Philip Sidney was a child but two years old.

Clement Adams.

Strength of the rising interest in navigation, that might bring wealth to England as to Spain, is shown during the younger days of Philip Sidney by the writings of Richard Eden, who was the forerunner of Richard Hakluyt. Eden was a man of the same age as Clement Adams, or a couple of years younger, and was educated at Queen's College, Cambridge, under the famous scholar Thomas—afterwards Sir Thomas—Smith. He was at Cambridge for ten years, from 1535 to 1544. When he

Richard Eden.

married, in 1547, Eden had a post in the Treasury, which he held for about two years. Twelve children were born to Richard Eden in the next fourteen years after his marriage. In 1552 he was private secretary to Sir William Cecil. In 1554, under Philip and Mary, Eden had a place in Philip's English Treasury, but of this he was deprived in 1555, on accusation of heresy contained in his chief work, "The Decades of the New World or West India," which was published in that year. From 1562 to 1573 Eden was in the service of Jean de Ferrières, Vidame of Chartres, and in 1572 he narrowly escaped from the Bartholomew's Day Massacre. He returned to England in 1573, and died before the fourth of July, 1577.

Richard Eden, though his interest in discovery was shown mainly by translations, included in his writing some results of his own studies or inquiries. He began with a free English version of part of the first modern Book of General Geography, a Universal Cosmography by the German divine, Sebastian Münster, who was Professor of Hebrew at Basel and died in 1552, aged sixty-three. Eden published his selections from this Cosmography in 1553, the year after its author's death, as "A treatyse of the Newe India, with other new founde landes and Ilandes, as well Eastwarde as Westwarde, as they are knowen and found in these oure dayes, after the description of Sebastian Munster in his boke of universall Cosmographie: wherein the diligent reader may see the goode successe and rewarde of noble and honest enterpryses, by the which not only worldly ryches are obtained, but also God is glorified, and the Christian fayth enlarged. Translated out of Latin into English." Of this book, which was dedicated to the Duke of Northumberland, the title faithfully reflects that part of the spirit of the time to which its appeal was made.

Two years later, in 1555, Eden published "The Decades of the Newe Worlde, or West India, Conteyning the

navigations and conquestes of the Spanyardes, with the particular description of the most ryche and large landes and Ilandes lately founde in the West Ocean perteyning to the inheritaunce of the kinges of Spayne. In the which the diligent reader may not only consyder what commoditie may hereby chaunce to the whole christian world in tyme to come, but also learne many secreates touching the lande, the sea and the starres, very necessarie to be knowen to al such as shal attempte any navigations, or otherwise have delite to beholde the strange and wonderful woorkes of God and nature. Wrytten in the Latine tounge by Peter Martyr of Angleria, and translated into Englysshe." Pietro Martire, of Anghiera in the Milanese, born in 1455, was Councillor of State to Ferdinand V. of Castile and Aragon, whose children he taught, and by whom he was sent on special embassies to Venice and to Egypt. He was also employed by Charles V., and died in 1525, aged seventy. Besides his Latin History of the Discoveries in the New World, of which the First Decade ("the Ocean") was first printed in 1511, the Second and Third Decades were first printed in 1516, and the account of "the Newfound islands"—meaning Yucatán and Mexico—was first printed in 1516, Pietro Martire wrote an account of his visit to Egypt, and a collection of studied letters. Eden's translation of Martire's Decades was a quarto dedicated to Philip and Mary, but nevertheless it caused Thomas Watson, Bishop of Lincoln, to bring its author before Gardiner as a heretic, and cost him his English office in King Philip's service.

In 1561 Richard Eden published a translation from Martin Cortes of "The Arte of Navigation, Conteyning a compendious description of the Sphere, with the makyng of certen Instrumentes and Rules for Navigations: and exemplified by manye Demonstrations. Wrytten in Spanyshe tongue by Martin Curtes, and directed to the Emperour Charles the fyfte. Translated out of Spanyshe into Eng-

lyshe." This book was dedicated to two London aldermen who were among the governors of the Society of Merchant Adventurers, and one of them was Thomas Lodge, who was Lord Mayor two years later, and was father to the poet of that name. This book on the Art of Navigation was five times reprinted before the end of the century.

Another of Eden's translations was on the nature of magnets, from John Taisnier's *Opus Mathematicum*, which includes among its various matters of research chiromancy and judicial astrology. Taisnier, born in Belgium at Ath in 1509, taught mathematics in Italian universities and had been preceptor to the henchmen of Charles V., but afterwards he settled at Cologne as Master of the Music at the Elector's Chapel. He died not long after the publication of his *Opus Mathematicum*, in 1562. Eden's interest in the magnet came of its relation to seafaring, and he called his translation "A very necessarie and profitable Booke concerning Navigation, compiled in Latin by Joannes Taisnierus, a publike professor in Rome, Ferraria, and other Universities in Italie of the Mathematicalles, named a treatise of continual Motions." This was published with Eden's translation of "The Navigation and Voyages of Lewes Vertomanus" (Lodovico Barthema, who wrote an *Itinerario in Egitto, Arabia, Persia,* &c.), "a gentleman of the city of Rome, to the regions of Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Syria, Ethiopia, and East India both within and without the Gangis, in the year of our lorde 1503." The two translations were published in July, 1577, after Eden's death, as parts of "The History of Travayle in the West and East Indies, and other countreys lying eyther way, towardes the fruitfull and rich Moluccas; as Moscovia, Persia, Arabia, Syria, Ægypte, Ethiopia, Guinea, China in Cathayo, and Giapan: with a discourse of the Northwest passage. Gathered in parte, and done into Englyshe by Richarde Eden,

Newly set in order, augmented and finished by Richard Willes." *

In all this movement Sir Philip Sidney took the keenest interest. When Raleigh's half-brother, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, wrote his "Discourse to prove a North-West Passage," there was a delay of ten years before its first publication in 1576. It was read by the queen, and led to the licensing of Martin Frobisher to start on that four months' voyage in search of a north-west passage from which he returned in October, 1576, having found Frobisher's Bay, supposed to be a strait between Asia and America. Philip Sidney, then a young man of twenty-one, had a twenty-five pound share in the adventure. Sir Thomas Gresham had a hundred pound share. The Earl of Leicester and the Earl of Warwick had subscribed fifty pounds each. The promise of the first voyage was so good that for the second most subscribers doubled their contributions. Sir Philip Sidney subscribed fifty pounds, and Queen Elizabeth five hundred. Some bits of pyrites, which an Italian alchemist declared to be gold ore, had been brought home from the first voyage, and Frobisher was now instructed to search rather for the gold than for the further passage. A "Company of Cathay" was formed, with Frobisher as its Captain-General and Admiral of its Ships and Navy. Frobisher sailed in

Philip Sidney: Martin Frobisher.

* A full and very interesting record of Richard Eden and his work was furnished by Professor Edward Arber, of Mason's College, Birmingham, in a quarto volume published in 1885, entitled "The First Three English Books on America [? 1511]–1555 A.D. Being chiefly translations, compilations, &c., by Richard Eden, from the writings, maps, &c., of Pietro Martire of Anghiera (1455–1526), Apostolical Protonotary and Councillor to the Emperor Charles V.; Sebastian Münster, the Cosmographer (1489–1552), Professor of Hebrew, &c., at the University of Basle; Sebastian Cabot of Bristol (1474–1557), Grand Pilot of England; with extracts, &c., from the works of other Spanish, Italian, and German writers of the Time."

May, 1577, and returned in September with a shipload of the supposed treasure. As nobody knew how to get gold out of it, the ore was supposed to be poor. He would get richer ore next time. Sidney raised the amount of his venture to £67 10s. Frobisher went again, in 1578, with more ships to the islands by Meta Incognita, which men imagined to be richer than Peru. He brought home a larger store of worthless mineral than that which had been locked up under four keys as treasure in the Tower after his return from the voyage of 1577. But now the dream of gold was broken, and Frobisher's next service was in 1580 as captain of the *Foresight*, which was to prevent Spanish ships from bringing aid to the rebellion in Munster.

Francis Drake struck heavily at Spain in his third voyage to the West Indies—that of 1572–3—which brought him and his men, in July, 1572, to Nombre de Dios, the Spanish emporium of the West Indies, where he might have carried off as much treasure as his ships could hold, if he had not, in the critical hour, swooned from loss of blood. During that voyage Spanish ships were captured, Portobello was burnt, the Pacific seen from a tree on the Isthmus of Panama, three caravans of silver were intercepted, and there were other adventures and mishaps of which the narrative remained unpublished until 1626, when it appeared as "Sir Francis Drake Reuiued: Calling upon this Dull or Effeminate Age to followe his Noble Steps for Golde and Siluer, by this Memorable Relation of the Rare Occurrences (neuer yet declared to the World) in a Third Voyage made by him into the West Indies, in the Years 72 and 73, when Nombre de Dios was by him and 52 others only in his Company surprised, faithfully taken out of the Reporte of Mr. Christopher Ceeley, Ellis Hixon and others, who were in the same voyage with him. By Philip Nichols, Preacher. Reviewed also by Sir Francis Drake himselfe before his Death, and much holpen and enlarged

Francis Drake.

by diuers Notes with his owne hand here and there inserted. Set forth by Sir Francis Drake, Baronet (his nephew) now liuing." *

In December, 1577, Francis Drake left England with a squadron of five little vessels, and returned, in September, 1580, without any companion ships, in his bark of a hundred tons, *The Pelican*, of which, in the Straits of Magellan, he had changed the name to *The Golden Hind*, the crest of his patron Sir Christopher Hatton. Drake's *Golden Hind* had been the first of English ships to sail round the globe, and it came back loaded with rich treasure, in silver, gold, and gems, taken from Spain. Claims of Spain were evaded, and on the fourth of April, 1581, Francis Drake was knighted by Queen Elizabeth, who thought that if Spain should attack Protestant England, Drake's treasure would support a seven years' war without taxation of her people. *The Golden Hind* came to high honour, though not so high as that suggested by one enthusiast, who would have had her placed on the top of the tower of St. Paul's instead of the wooden spire, five hundred and twenty feet high, which had been struck by lightning and burnt down in 1561. When Drake next sought adventure by sea, in the autumn of 1585, it was with a fleet of twenty-five sail, authorised to make reprisals against Spain and to resist the Spanish preparations against England. In that fleet Martin Frobisher sailed as vice-admiral. Drake returned in July, 1586, bringing back with him sixty thousand pounds' worth of booty from the Spaniards. He brought also Raleigh's colonists from Virginia, with whom, it is said, then first came into England two strange plants from the New World for which appetite has grown—tobacco and potatoes. When we notice that in all the plays of Shakespeare there is not one

* "London, Printed by E. A. for Nicholas Bourne, dwelling at the South Entrance of the Royall Exchange. 1626." A copy of this rare little book once fetched at a sale £75.

allusion to tobacco—that even Falstaff, Bardolph, Pistol do not smoke—we may remember that the supposed year of the first approach of young Shakespeare to the stage was the supposed year also of the first landing of tobacco—Spenser called it the "divine tobacco"—on our shores.

At the beginning of 1580, Philip Sidney had addressed to the queen a wise and earnest written argument against the project of her marriage with the Duke of Anjou. His uncle, Leicester, whose secret marriage with Lettice, Countess of Essex, had become known, was already under the queen's displeasure; and Sidney, after writing this letter, found it best to withdraw from Court. Towards the end of March, 1580, he went to stay at Wilton with his sister Mary, who in 1577, at the age of twenty, had become Countess of Pembroke as third wife of Henry Herbert, Earl of Pembroke, then an amiable and able man of forty. It was she whom Spenser afterwards honoured as

Sidney at Wilton.

> "The greatest shepherdess that lives this day,
> And most resembling both in shape and spright
> Her brother dear";

and upon whose death, when her course was ended, Ben Jonson wrote—

> "Underneath this sable herse
> Lies the subject of all verse,
> Sidney's sister, Pembroke's mother;
> Death, ere thou hast slain another
> Learn'd and fair and good as she,
> Time shall throw a dart at thee."

Sidney's sister became "Pembroke's mother" in that spring of 1580 when her brother Philip was staying at Wilton. He remained there about seven months. Brother and sister worked together at that time upon a joint translation of the Psalms of David into English verse. It was then also that Sidney occupied

The Psalms in Verse.

hours of his forced idleness by beginning to write for the amusement of his sister a long pastoral romance, in prose mixed with verse, according to Italian fashion, with abundance of poetical conceits,—his "Arcadia." It was done at his sister's wish, and, as he wrote to her, "only for you, only to you. . . . For, indeed, for severer eyes it is not, being but a trifle, and that triflingly handled. Your dear self can best witness the manner, being done in loose sheets of paper, most of it in your presence, the rest by sheets sent unto you as fast as they were done." This romance was not published by Sidney. On his deathbed he asked a friend to collect all the leaves of the MS. and burn them. But it belonged to his sister, who valued it, and claimed it as her property. By her it was, four years after his death, prepared for the press, and published in 1590. Much of it was written during the summer of 1580, and the rest chiefly or entirely in 1581.

Sidney's "Arcadia."

Though long, Sidney's "Arcadia" is unfinished, except by the addition of a hurried close. It is a pastoral of the school of the "Arcadia" of Sannazaro, and the "Diana Enamorado" by George of Montemayor; but its intermixture of verse and prose develops more completely a romantic story, and it adds to the pastoral a new heroic element. This was suggested partly by the Spanish romances of "Amadis" and "Palmerin," partly by the "Æthiopian Historie" of Heliodorus, lately translated from the Greek by Thomas Underdown. Heliodorus, Bishop of Tricca, in Thessaly, who lived at the end of the fourth century, wrote, under the name of "Æthiopica," ten books of romance on the loves of Theagenes and Chariclea. Sidney had been enjoying this in Underdown's translation. In his 'Apologie for Poetrie," written in 1581 (although not published until 1595), after saying that Xenophon had "in his portraiture of a just empire under the name of Cyrus (as Cicero saith of him),

made therein an absolute heroical poem; so," he added, "did Heliodorus in his sugared invention of that picture of love in Theagenes and Chariclea, and yet both these writ in prose: which I speak to show that it is not rhyming and versing that maketh a poet, no more than a long gown maketh an advocate, who, though he pleaded in armour, should be an advocate and no soldier." Sidney's "Arcadia" may be, in this sense, taken as all poet's work, giving a new point of growth for heroic romance grafted upon pastoral. As he was writing for his sister a romance after the fashion of his day, Sidney, in the "Arcadia," would amuse himself by showing how he also could be delicate and show a fine conceit.

This is the groundwork of its story:—

Two cousins and close friends, Musidorus, the elder, Prince of Thessaly, and Pyrocles, the younger, Prince of Macedon, are wrecked on the Spartan coast. Musidorus is saved and taken to the delicious pastoral land of Arcadia. His friend is supposed to have been lost. Musidorus is sheltered by Kalander, an Arcadian noble. Presently he leads an Arcadian force against Helots of Sparta, who have made Kalander's son their prisoner, and, at the close of combat with a mighty captain of the Helots, finds him to be his lost friend Pyrocles. Peace is made. Kalander's son is released, and the two friends begin a course of love adventures. Basilius and Gynecia, king and queen of Arcadia, have two daughters—majestic Pamela and sweet Philoclea. To keep men away from his daughters, Basilius has built two lodges in a forest. In one he lives with his wife and his younger daughter, Philoclea; in the other Pamela lives under the care of a clown, Dametas, who has an ugly wife, Miso, and an ugly daughter, Mopsa. The only men who may come near are a priest and some shepherds skilled in music. Musidorus now loves Pamela; he is disguised as a shepherd, Dorus, and affects passion

for Mopsa. Pyrocles loves Philoclea; he is disguised as an Amazon, Zelmane, and inspires love in King Basilius, who takes him for a woman, as well as in Queen Gynecia, who sees that he is a man. Many troubles and adventures, episodes of romance, conceited dialogues and songs, including experiments in "our English reformed versifying," are built upon this groundwork. The king's sister-in-law, Cecropia, desires to set up her son Amphialus as King of Arcadia, that she may rule through him. Cecropia carries off Pamela, Philoclea, and Zelmane. She fails to bend Philoclea to assent to the love of her son, goes to the chamber of Pamela, hoping to prevail over her, and hears her praying to heaven for succour. We shall meet again with Pamela's prayer. The Arcadian army battles for the rescue of the captives, and in the course of this contest Amphialus slays Argalus, the husband of Parthenia. She afterwards arms herself to avenge her husband, comes as a stranger knight, and is herself slain by Amphialus, who suffers grief and shame for his victory. The latter part of the "Arcadia" is less fully worked out. The princesses and Pyrocles, still as the Amazon Zelmane, are again at home. Musidorus escapes with Pamela to Thessaly. Pyrocles remains, troubled by the affections of the king and queen, but he brings both to their senses, they resume their royal duties, and the lovers are made happy.

The style of Sidney's "Arcadia" follows a fashion of rhetoric caught from the pastorals of Italy and Spain, and the Spanish romances following in the wake of Lobeira's "Amadis of Gaul." Antithesis abounds, but it is not coupled with alliteration as in the true Euphuism. Sidney, in writing to amuse his sister, meets the fashionable taste in wit, but he avoids the hunting of the letter. He avoids also Lyly's use of similes drawn from such fabulous properties of animals as were to be found in Pliny's Natural

History and in the mediæval bestiaries.* His similes are often drawn from nature with a poet's grace, though with excess of rhetoric. Thus, in the opening of "Arcadia," the shepherd Strephon, who is witness to the wreck of Musidorus and is first in aid, has come to the sands opposite the island of Cithera, at the place where Urania departed—"sweetest fairness and fairest sweetness." "Let us think," says his companion Claius to him, "let us think with consideration, and consider with acknowledging, and acknowledge with admiration, and admire with love, and love with joy in the midst of our woes"; and he describes presently her breath as "more sweet than a gentle south-west wind which comes creeping over flowrie fields and shadowed waters in the extreme heat of summer." There is significance in the opening of this pastoral romance with suggestion of shepherds following the footprints of the lost Urania, and praising her as one who has "thrown reason upon our desires, and, as it were, given eyes unto Cupid. Hath in any but her love fellowship maintained friendship between rivals, and beauty taught the beholders chastity?" When these shepherds saw the wreck of the burnt ship—"a waste of fire in the midst of the water"—and the blood of slain men on the waters, we are told that "a little way off they saw the mast, whose proud height now lay along, like a widow having lost her mate of whom she held her honour."

The wisdom of proverbs that delighted Spanish wits found its echo in Sidney's "Arcadia" in many a well-weighed sentence. Kalander, in his great house, "knew

* Of the traditions derived from the old Physiologus and bestiaries founded on it("E. W." iii. 333–335), that were worked into similes by the Elizabethan Euphuists, a good study will be found in *Englische Studien*, xiv. 188–210, the work of Friedrich Lauchert of Strassburg, undertaken at the suggestion of Professor Bernhard ten Brink—*Der Einfluss des Physiologus auf den Euphuismus.*

that provision is the foundation of hospitality, and thrift the fuel of magnificence." Philanax tells King Basilius, "he cannot be good that knows not why he is good"; and Kalander foreshadows a piece of Shakespeare's teaching when he says to a too retired and meditative youth, "that while one thinks too much of his doing, he leaves to do the effect of his thinking." As for action, Sidney makes Musidorus speak like a stout Elizabethan when he says to Pyrocles, "We are to resolve that if reason direct it, we must do it; and if we must do it, we will do it: for to say I cannot, is childish; and I will not, womanish."

There are touches also of a form of phrasing that will in later years be found a characteristic of the style in favour with the *Précieuses;* as when, in the "Arcadia," huntsmen come home in the evening, they are said to come home "about the time that the candle begins to inherit the sun's office."

The knightly adventures and the joustings in Sidney's "Arcadia" are of the age for which Spenser put his spiritual allegory into knightly form, as that most welcome to the world that read. An ethical temper makes itself felt also, in prose and verse of the eclogues with which Sidney's romance abounds, and which follow the lead of Sannazaro and Montemayor.* Sannazaro closed his "Arcadia" with

* Jacopo Sannazaro, born in 1485 at Naples, was of the house of Marquises of San Nazaro, in the territory of Lamosso, between the Po and the Ticino. (Saint Nazarius was an early Christian, said to have been beheaded at Milan soon after the first persecution by Nero.) Sannazaro, who took the name of Actius Sincerus as a member of the Neapolitan Academy, was a poet of mark both in Latin and Italian. His Latin poem in three books, *De Partu Virginis*, was in high favour. He wrote also in Latin two books of Elegies, six Piscatory Eclogues, and three books of Epigrams. He was a faithful follower of King Frederic of Naples, with whom he shared his exile. Some of his epigrams were against the Popes Alexander VI. and Leo X. In one, the answer to

the sentence that "he among mortals can most truly be called happy who, free from envy at others' greatness, can be modestly content with his own fortune." Once, it is said, when the doctors were in consultation as to the best way of improving the eyesight of the king of Naples, and one said, "Give him fennel," another said, "Not so," Sannazaro said, "Give him envy; for if he have that, whatever his eye sees will be magnified." Sidney's noble strain breathed spiritual life into his idling. He wrote to amuse a sister with whom he was also putting into verse the Psalms.

Among the shepherds in Sidney's "Arcadia" is one with a name formed from his own, Philisides—

> "The lad Philisides
> Lay by a river side,
> In flow'ry field a gladder eye to please,"

---

the question why Leo, in dying, could not receive the sacred rites of the Church, was that he had sold them.—

> "Sacra sub extremâ, si forte requiritis, horâ
> Cur Leo non potuit sumere: vendiderat."

His "Arcadia" was a graceful work of Sannazaro's youth, in courtly Italian prose, interspersed with rhymes that introduced into Italian literature the free slide of the *versi sdruccioli*. Sannazaro delighted to honour in his "Arcadia" his mother, his sweetheart, and Pontano his teacher, as Massilia, Amaranta, and Melises. He died in 1530.

George of Montemayor was a Portuguese, born at the town of Montemayor, near Coimbra. He is supposed to have been killed in a duel at Turin in 1561. He was no scholar, but a good musician, who served Philip II. of Spain, and a poet who wrote good Castilian with occasional mixture of Portuguese. His *Diana Enamorada*, first printed in 1542, was composed in imitation of the "Arcadia" of Sannazaro, but with more incident of romance, including his own love story as Sereno, hero of the piece, in which shepherds and shepherdesses on the banks of the Ezla, by the mountains of Leon, tell their tales in seven books of prose mixed with verse. At the end of it all Diana, drawn by magic from love to the faithful Sereno, marries Delio, his rival.

and one of his songs is of that which he had learnt from Hubert Languet,* the old Huguenot—

> "He said, the Music best thilk powers pleased
> Was jump concord between our wit and will,
> Where highest notes to godliness are raised,
> And lowest sink not down to jot of ill."

Sidney's "Arcadia," like Montemayor's "Diana," was hurried to an insufficient close, and had additions made to it by other hands. The loose sheets on which it was first written for his sister were revised, with additions, as far as the combat between Anaxius and Pyrocles in the third book, in the midst of which the revision stopped abruptly. The rest was published from the first rough copies on loose papers imperfectly collected, and joined afterwards to the finished part by an interpolation of about twenty folio pages written by Sir W. A.—that is, Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling. The rest of the third book and the fourth and fifth then followed. The work was closed with a suggestion derived from the custom of Spanish romancers, who continued from romance into romance adventures of the children, nephews, and grandchildren of their heroes. Esplandian, son of Amadis and Oriana, was hero of a separate romance. Lisuarte, son of Esplandian, was hero of another. A sixth book of "Amadis of Gaul" was written to tell the history of Florisando, nephew of Amadis. And so Philip Sidney ended his "Arcadia" with suggestion of half a dozen lives of continuation, among which "lastly, the son of Pyrocles, named Pyrophilus, and Melidora the fair daughter of Pamela by Musidorus, who even at their birth entered into admirable fortunes, may awake some other spirit to exercise his pen in that wherewith mine is already dulled." "A Sixth Book to the Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia" was, in fact, "written by R. B."—Richard Beling—"of Lincoln's Inn Esquire."

* "E. W." viii. 401.

Critical echo replies to its motto, "*Sat si bene; si male, nimium.*"—*Nimium.*

Sidney's "Arcadia" was our first long romance. It was read alike by poets and by those who called themselves, in after years, "persons of quality." Shakespeare took from an episode in the Second Book—of the Prince of Paphlagonia and his ungrateful son—the suggestion of the tale of Gloster subtly interwoven with the tragedy of "Lear." "Arcadia" was read by Charles I., who copied out of its Third Book, for his own use, Pamela's prayer when in the power of Cecropia. Francis Quarles shaped a poem from its episode of Argalus and Parthenia. And near the middle of the eighteenth century, when active revolt began against windy tales of princes and princesses, chivalry and shepherds, that followed in France, without his poetry, on Sidney's track, the first great stroke of the reaction was delivered with Sidney's "Arcadia" present to the mind: Richardson made a servant girl his heroine, and called her Pamela. But Sidney wrote when men still tilted in the lists, and many an Englishman went forth—to the Netherlands, the Indies, or elsewhere—to right wrongs, to champion the oppressed, to beard in his cave the three-headed giant of Spain, to seek adventure over deserts, over mountains, and through icy seas.

Sir Philip Sidney's justification of the poet's office against Puritan misconceptions common in his day, and specially brought to his attention by Stephen Gosson's dedication to him of "The School of Abuse," * is known under two names. When first published, in 1595, five years later than the "Arcadia" and nine years after Sidney's death, it was described on its title-page as "An Apologie for Poetrie. Written by the right noble, vertuous and learned Sir Philip Sidney, Knight. *Odi profanum vulgus, et arceo.* At London, Printed for Henry Olney, and are to

Sidney's "Apologie for Poetrie."

* "E. W." viii. 390–392.

be sold at his shop in Paules Church-yard, at the signe of the George, neare to Cheap-gate. Anno 1595." The piece was next added, in 1598, to "The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia. Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight. Now the third time published, with sundry new additions of the same Authour. Imprinted for William Ponsonbie," who had published the first edition of the "Arcadia" in 1590, and the second in 1593. "An Apologie for Poetrie," when printed for the second time, among the pieces added to the third edition of the "Arcadia," was entitled "The Defence of Poesie," and this title being retained in subsequent editions, the word "Defence" came to replace the word "Apologie," which, as used by Sidney with the more distinct sense then attached to it, of justification against misinterpreters—in which sense Tertullian wrote an Apology for Christianity—describes his purpose rather better than the word "Defence." "Defence" inclines a little more to the suggestion of rebutted error—"Apology" a little more to that of truth maintained. But the word has since been drawn by popular misuse towards a sense that implies admission of error.

Philip Sidney, in his "Apologie for Poetrie," avoids the ornate style of his "Arcadia," and writes prose that would have contented Roger Ascham. Between a playful introduction and a playful peroration, he places a serious argument, well arranged, well reasoned, and set forth with simple dignity. He begins with recollection of a riding-master at the Emperor's Court who placed horsemanship at the head of all human attainments, and so praised the horse that, says Sidney, "if I had not been a bit of a logician before I came to him, I think he would have persuaded me to have wished myself a horse." So it may seem that he himself who, in these his not old years and idlest times, has slipped into the title of a poet, handles his subject with more goodwill than good reasons. Thus he propitiates the reader, whom he asks to

bear with him, before he proceeds to show that poetry was the first light-giver, borrowed from by historians, honoured by the Romans as sacred and prophetic, and really sacred and prophetic in the Psalms of David. By the Greeks, he goes on to show, the poet was honoured with the name of Maker, "wherein, I know not whether by luck or wisdom, we Englishmen have met with the Greeks in calling him 'a maker,' which name, how high and incomparable a title it is, I had rather were known by marking the scope of other sciences than by any partial allegation." Poetry is the one creative art. Astronomers and others repeat what they find. Poets improve Nature and idealise Man.

Having advanced his argument so far, Sidney proceeds to the next opening of his subject. This begins with a definition of poetry, and a division of it into three general kinds. He defines it as an art of imitation: "to speak metaphorically, a speaking picture, with this end, to teach and delight." Its three kinds are, first, the Divine, that imitates the inconceivable excellences of God. "And this poesy must be used by whosoever will follow Saint Paul's counsel, in singing psalms when they are merry; and I know is used with the fruit of comfort by some, when, in sorrowful pangs of their death-bringing sins, they find the consolation of the never-leaving goodness. The second kind is of them that deal with matter Philosophical; either moral, as Tyrtæus, Phocyclides, Cato; or natural, as Lucretius; Virgil's Georgics; or astronomical, as Manilius and Pontanus, or historical, as Lucan." Poets of this sort cannot take the free course of their own invention, and whether they be poets or no, says Sidney, let grammarians dispute. We go to

"The *third*, indeed right poets, of whom chiefly this question ariseth; betwixt whom and these second is such a kind of difference, as betwixt the meaner sort of painters, who counterfeit only such faces as are set before them, and the more excellent, who having no law but

wit, bestow that in colours upon you which is fittest for the eye to see; as the constant, though lamenting look of Lucretia, when she punished in herself another's fault, wherein he painteth not Lucretia, whom he never saw, but painteth the outward beauty of such a virtue. For these three be they which most properly do imitate to teach and delight; and to imitate, borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be, but range only, reined with learned discretion, into the divine consideration of what may be, and should be. These be they that, as the first and most noble sort, may justly be termed "vates"; so these are waited on in the excellentest languages and best understandings with the fore-described name of poets. For these, indeed, do merely make to imitate, and imitate both to delight and teach; and delight, to move men to take that goodness in hand which, without delight, they would fly as from a stranger; and teach, to make them know that goodness whereunto they are moved; which being the noblest scope to which ever any learning was directed, yet want there not idle tongues to bark at them."

Sidney names then the subdivisions of poetry proper, which has, he says, its essence in the thought, not in apparelling of verse. But before dealing with the several parts of poetry, he will consider first the poet's work, and ask what poetry does for us. Poetry, he says, best advances the end of all earthly learning—virtuous action. He sets forth its advantage herein over Moral Philosophy, over History, and shows by argument in what manner the poet goes beyond philosopher, historian, and all others, bating comparison with the divine. He makes the poet monarch of all human sciences in a passage often quoted, and which is too suggestive of the life in our Elizabethan writers to be left unquoted here—

"Now, therein, of all sciences (I speak still of human and according to the human conceit), is our Poet the monarch. For he doth not only show the way, but giveth so sweet a prospect into the way as will entice any man to enter into it; nay, he doth, as if your journey should lie through a fair vineyard, at the very first give you a cluster of grapes, that full of that taste you may long to pass farther. He beginneth not with obscure definitions, which must blur the margin with interpretations and load the memory with doubtfulness, but he

cometh to you with words set in delightful proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for, the well-enchanting skill of music; and with a tale, forsooth, he cometh unto you with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney-corner, and, pretending no more, doth intend the winning of the mind from wickedness to virtue; even as the child is often brought to take most wholesome things, by hiding them in such other as have a pleasant taste, which, if one should begin to tell them the nature of the aloes or rhubarbarum they should receive, would sooner take their physic at their ears than at their mouth. So it is in men (most of them are childish in the best things, till they be cradled in their graves); glad they will be to hear the tales of Hercules, Achilles, Cyrus, Æneas; and hearing them, must needs hear the right description of wisdom, valour, and justice; which, if they had been barely (that is to say, philosophically) set out, they would swear they be brought to school again."

After some instances of the power of the poet's work, Philip Sidney goes on to treat severally of the parts of poetry. Can pastoral be condemned? or elegiac? or iambic? or satiric? or comic? or tragic? or lyric—

"Is it the lyric that most displeaseth, who with his tuned lyre and well accorded voice, giveth praise, the reward of virtue, to virtuous acts? who giveth moral precepts and natural problems? who sometimes raiseth up his voice to the height of the heavens, in singing the lauds of the immortal God? Certainly, I must confess mine own barbarousness; I never heard the old song of Percy and Douglas, that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet, and yet it is sung but by some blind crowder, with no rougher voice than rude style; which being so evil apparelled in the dust and cobweb of that uncivil age, what would it work, trimmed in the gorgeous eloquence of Pindar?"

. . . . . .

"There rests the heroical, whose very name, I think, should daunt all backbiters. For by what conceit can a tongue be directed to speak evil of that which draweth with him no less champions than Achilles, Cyrus, Æneas, Turnus, Tydeus, Rinaldo? who doth not only teach and move to truth, but teacheth and moveth to the most high and excellent truth? who maketh magnanimity and justice shine through all misty fearfulness and foggy desires? who, if the saying of Plato and Tully be true, that who could see virtue would be wonderfully ravished

with the love of her beauty; this man setteth her out to make her more lovely, in her holiday apparel, to the eye of any that will deign not to disdain until they understand. But if anything be already said in the defence of sweet poetry, all concurreth to the maintaining the heroical, which is not only a kind, but the best and most accomplished kind, of poetry. For, as the image of each action stirreth and instructeth the mind, so the lofty image of such worthies most inflameth the mind with desire to be worthy, and informs with counsel how to be worthy."

Then follows a summary of the argument as it has been sustained thus far; and Sidney proceeds next to state and meet objections to the poet's art. He deals with the objections to the use of rhyme and metre, and with the Puritan argument that time might be better spent upon more fruitful knowledge; that poetry is the mother of lies; that it is the nurse of abuse, infecting us with wanton and pestilent desires; that Plato banished poets from his commonwealth. Sidney ends this section of his "Apologie" with a second summary, and then turns to discussion of the causes of defect in English poetry.

Of defects in the drama, Sidney, writing in 1581, speaks emphatically. Of plays that he has seen, he praises only "Gorboduc," condemning in some degree even in that the neglect, gross in other plays, of unities of time and place. His opinions on this subject will have our attention when we come again to the record of the English drama. Sidney deals with defects in lyric poetry and with defects in diction. Here he condemns the far-fetched words, the coursing of a letter, the figures and flowers extremely winter-starved. "For now," he says, "they cast sugar and spice upon every dish that is served at the table: like those Indians, not content to wear earrings at the fit and natural places of the ears, but they will thrust jewels through their nose and lips, because they will be sure to be fine. . . . Now for similitudes in certain printed discourses, I think all herbalists, all stories of beasts,

fowls, and fishes, are rifled up that they may come in multitudes to wait upon any of our conceits." But a simile proves nothing; it explains to willing ears, "and when that is done, the rest is a most tedious prattling." Sidney turns then to praise of his native tongue, as capable of any excellent exercising of it. It lends itself alike to ancient and modern forms of versification, by quantity and accent:

"Whether of these be the more excellent, would bear many speeches; the ancient, no doubt more fit for music, both words and time observing quantity; and more fit lively to express divers passions, by the low or lofty sound of the well-weighed syllable. The latter, likewise, with his rhyme striketh a certain music to the ear; and, in fine, since it doth delight, though by another way, it obtaineth the same purpose; there being in either, sweetness, and wanting in neither, majesty. Truly the English, before any vulgar language I know, is fit for both sorts; for, for the ancient, the Italian is so full of vowels, that it must ever be cumbered with elisions: the Dutch so, of the other side, with consonants, that they cannot yield the sweet sliding fit for a verse. The French, in his whole language, hath not one word that hath his accent in the last syllable saving two, called antepenultima; and little more hath the Spanish, and therefore very gracelessly may they use dactyls. The English is subject to none of these defects."

Sidney himself, although he tried both ways, chiefly used accented verse with rhyme, and he here shows himself to have been no zealot for "the new manner of versifying," whether by Drant's rules or by ear. And now Sidney's argument proceeds to its last summary, that slides into a peroration playfully suggesting how the poets can immortalise their friends, and wishing to the reader, if he have so earth-creeping a mind that it cannot lift itself up to look to the sky of poetry, not the ass's ears of Midas; "nor to be driven by a poet's verses, as Bubonax was, to hang himself; nor to be rhymed to death, as is said to be done in Ireland; yet thus much curse I must send you in the behalf of all poets: that while you live, you live in love, and never get favour for

lacking skill of a sonnet; and when you die, your memory die from the earth for want of an epitaph."

Perfect in temper, high in aim, Sidney's "Apologie for Poetry" was the first piece of formal criticism in our literature written by a man of genius. The principles of taste that Sidney had derived chiefly from study of the best writers of ancient Greece and Rome, with some aid from the Italians of the Renaissance, he applied here to the writing of pure English prose free from the faults in fashion. From the Italian critics he had learnt to enforce out of Aristotle maintenance by playwrights of the unities of time and place. There was nothing in 1581 to show how the English drama, through a greater freedom, would acquire a greater strength. It is evident also that Sidney was better read in Greek, Latin, and Italian than in English poets; for of Chaucer he names only "Troilus and Cressida," and he can think of no other works of mark in English poetry worth naming than "The Mirror for Magistrates," the lyrics of the Earl of Surrey, and the Eclogues of the "Shepheardes Calender." "Besides these," he says, "I do not remember to have seen but few (to speak boldly) printed that have poetical sinews in them."

Sidney—at Court again, after the months of retirement at Wilton, during which he wrote "Arcadia"—was knighted by Elizabeth in January, 1583, when his age was about twenty-eight. In the following March or April he was married to Frances, eldest daughter of Sir Francis Walsingham, and the next year was spent in married peace. That bold searcher for spiritual truth, Giordano Bruno, came, in July, 1583, to England, where he remained two years, and was among the friends of Philip Sidney. In 1584 and 1585 Bruno expressed his honour for Sidney by dedicating to him two works; one set forth his philosophy in an allegory, the other was on the heroic enthusiasm that forces men to strive towards the ideal of true beauty.

Sidney wrote sonnets in those days—"Passions" of the old conventional type—meaning, as usual, to address them to some lady who deserved compliment, and of whom his conventional rhapsodies could not very well be taken seriously. As the Earl of Surrey addressed his love exercises to a child for whom the Court felt sympathy, Sidney paid the like compliment to an unhappy wife. Penelope Devereux, daughter to his old friend the late Earl of Essex, had once been talked of as his own possible wife. Her father said that he would have been proud of Philip Sidney for a son-in-law. And if so, why had the match not taken place? A letter from Edward Waterhouse to Sir Henry Sidney, dated at Chartley after the funeral of Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, Penelope's father, speaks of "treaty between Master Philip and my Lady Penelope" as so much desired of many that "I must say to your Lordship, as I have said to my Lord of Leicester and Master Philip, the breaking off from this match, if the default be on your parts, will turn to more dishonour than can be repaired with any other marriage in England." If Sidney had been really devoted to the lady, he could have married her. He says as much in a sonnet beginning—

Astrophel and Stella.

> "I might—unhappy word, O me!—I might,
> And then would not, or could not, see my bliss."

He did not marry her because he did not wish to do so, and in his own day no reasonable being ever supposed that he paid suit to her except in the way of verse, though he did make his poetical love-passion direct in its address, and would not have it turned to allegory. Yet the sonnets of this series—usually accurate in their structure and Petrarchan, except for the rhyming couplet at the close—speak Sidney's mind as a poet by suggestion that runs through the series identifying Stella with Virtue:—

"True that True Beauty Virtue is indeed,
Whereof this Beauty can but be a shade
Which elements with mortal mixture breed;
True that on Earth we are but pilgrims made,
And should in soul up to our country move;
True; and yet true—that I must Stella love."

This also is a sonnet of Sidney's, true in spirit, though less regular than usual in the structure of its rhymes—

"Leave me, O Love which reachest but to dust,
And thou, my Mind, aspire to higher things;
Grow rich in that which never taketh rust:
Whatever fades but fading pleasure brings.
Draw in thy beams, and humble all thy might
To that sweet yoke where lasting freedoms be;
Which breaks the clouds, and opens forth the light
That doth both shine, and give us sight to see!
O take fast hold; let that light be thy guide
In this small course which birth draws out to death;
And think how evil becometh him to slide,
Who seeketh heaven and comes of heavenly breath.
Then farewell, world; thy uttermost I see:
Eternal Love, maintain thy Life in me!"

Penelope, when about nineteen, was married by her guardian, against her will, to Lord Robert Rich, heir to the ill-gotten wealth of Lord Chancellor Rich. That chancellor, the grandson of two thriving London mercers, had risen by his want of principle, and had secured to himself great bargains at the suppression of the monasteries. He grasped wealth enough to endow two earldoms acquired by his descendants. The chancellor died in 1568, and his son Robert, second Baron Rich, died in 1581, leaving his son and heir, another Lord Robert, the rich man to whom Penelope was sold. She protested even at the altar. The contractor for her is described as "of an uncourtly disposition, unsociable, austere, and of no very agreeable conversation to her." The unhappiness of her forced marriage

made Lady Rich at this time an object of considerate attention. Philip Sidney was an old friend of her father's, and he gave her the place of honour in his sonnet-writing, wherein she was to be Stella ("the Star"), he Astrophel ("the Lover of the Star"); and certainly, as all the Court knew, and as the forms of such ingenious love-poetry implied, so far as love in the material sense was concerned, with as much distance between them as if she had shone upon him from above the clouds. Sidney's Astrophel and Stella sonnets were being written at the time when he was about to marry Fanny Walsingham; and in those earnest Elizabethan days, at the fitfully strict Court of Elizabeth, since the character of such poetical love-passions was then understood, they brought upon Sidney's credit not a breath of censure. As for Lady Rich, she gave herself to Sir Christopher Blount, who became Lord Mountjoy in 1600 and Earl of Devonshire in 1604. After divorce from her husband she married Blount in December, 1605, having been already the mother of five children by him, added to seven by Lord Rich. But that was a real passion, and what each felt in it was not told for the amusement of the public.

Sidney's sonnets were not misread by his contemporaries nor by his wife. Spenser sang of Astrophel in his own spirit. Fulke Greville wrote in after years a Life of his friend, and described him as England saw him in his own day. "Now," he wrote, "let princes vouchsafe to consider what importance it is to the honour of themselves and their estates to have one man of such eminence; not only as a nourisher of virtue in their courts or service, but besides for a reformed standard by which even the most humorous persons could not but have a reverend kind of ambition to be tried and approved current. This I do the more confidently affirm because it will be confessed by all men that this one man's example and personal respect did not only encourage learning and honour in the schools, but brought

the affection and true use thereof both into the court and camp. Nay more, even many gentlemen, excellently learned amongst us, will not deny but that they affected to row and steer their course in his wake. Besides which honour of unequal nature and education, his very ways in the world did generally add reputation to his prince and country, by restoring amongst us the ancient majesty of noble and true dealing, as a manly wisdom that can no more be weighed down by any effeminate craft than Hercules could be overcome by that effeminate army of dwarfs. And this was it which, I profess, I loved dearly in him, and still shall be glad to honour in the good men of this time: I mean that his heart and tongue went both one way, and so with everyone that went with the truth, as knowing no other kindred, party, or end. Above all, he made the religion he professed the firm basis of his life."

Sidney's last years.

In 1584 the course of events led Sir Philip Sidney to advocate direct attack by sea upon the Spanish power. He would have Elizabeth come forward as Defender of the Faith, at the head of a great Protestant League. He was a member of the Parliament that met in November, 1584; and in July, 1585, he was joined with the Earl of Warwick in the Mastership of the Ordnance. His strongest desires caused him to look in two directions for his course of action: he might aid in direct attack on the Spanish possessions, which, as source of treasure, were a source of power; he might aid in the rescue of the Netherlands from Spain. During a great part of the year 1585 his mind was very much with Drake and Raleigh.

In the spring of 1585, Raleigh sent a fleet of seven vessels to Virginia, in charge of his cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, with Ralph Lane, who was to be governor of the colony they went to found. Lane was left with 105 colonists on the island of Roanoake. In the same year Sir Francis Drake was sent as admiral, with a fleet of twenty-one ships,

against the Spaniards in the West Indies. Sir Philip Sidney helped towards the fitting of this expedition, and was bent on taking part in it himself, sharing authority with Drake after they had put to sea. Sidney went to Plymouth, but his secret plan became known, and his sailing with Drake's fleet was stayed by the queen's absolute command. Drake, therefore, sailed without him in September; and soon afterwards a daughter was born to Sir Philip Sidney, who was baptised Elizabeth, the queen standing as sponsor. Then he went to his death in the Low Countries.

The seven northern provinces of Holland had declared their independence on the twenty-ninth of September, 1580. In 1584, William of Orange had been assassinated. In 1585, the ten southern provinces were conquered by the Prince of Parma. Catherine de' Medici was in that year proposing to Philip of Spain invasion of England for the crushing of heresy. Philip pointed to heretics nearer home. Protestants of the Netherlands appealed to England, and on the tenth of August, 1585, a treaty was signed at Nonsuch, stipulating that England should provide 5,000 foot-soldiers and 1,000 horse to aid war in the Netherlands, while, as security for expenses, and as headquarters for troops, temporary possession was to be taken of Flushing, Brill, and the Castle of Rammekins. Then England declared war for three objects: to secure peace to all of the Reformed Faith; restoration of ancient rights to the Netherlands; and the safety of England. The English went out with the Earl of Leicester for their leader, Sir Philip Sidney as Governor of Flushing and of Rammekins, and Sir Thomas Cecil, eldest son of Lord Burghley, as Governor of Brill. Sidney went to his post in November, 1585. The earl followed in December, and spent over-much time in feasting. Sidney's heart was in his duty. He planned work in vain, and he sought in vain to protect the poor soldiers against chiefs who enriched themselves out of their pay and their supplies. In January,

Leicester offended Elizabeth by accepting from the States the rank of Governor-General of the United Provinces. Sir Philip Sidney fretted at inaction. His wife joined him at Flushing. In May, 1586, Sidney received news of the death of his father. In July he had a chief part in the capture of Axel. In August his mother died. In September he joined with Sir John Norris and Count Lewis William of Nassau in the investment of Zutphen. On the twenty-second of that month Sir Philip Sidney received his death wound in a gallant assault made by a few hundred English against a thousand cavalry, and under fire from walls and trenches. "An unfortunate hand out of those fore-spoken trenches," Fulke Greville tells us, "brake the bone of Sir Philip's thigh with a musket shot. The horse he rode upon was rather furiously choleric than bravely proud, and so forced him to forsake the field, but not his back, as the noblest and most fitting bier to carry a martial commander to his grave. In which sad progress, passing along by the rest of the army, where his uncle the general was, and being thirsty with excess of bleeding, he called for drink, which was presently brought him; but as he was putting the bottle to his mouth he saw a poor soldier carried along who had eaten his last at the same feast, ghastly casting up his eyes at the bottle. Which Sir Philip perceiving, took it from his head before he drank, and delivered it to the poor man, with these words, 'Thy necessity is yet greater than mine.' And when he had pledged this poor soldier, he was presently carried to Arnheim." After sixteen days of suffering, when his shoulder-bones were worn through his skin by constant reclining in one posture, Sir Philip Sidney was himself first to observe signs of mortification of his wounded limb. Knowing that this foreboded death, he then made confession of his faith, and dictated his will, parting his books between his two dearest friends, Fulke Greville and Edward Dyer. Then he called for

music, "especially," says Greville, "that song which himself had entitled *La cuisse rompue:* partly, as I conceive by the name, to show that the glory of mortal flesh was shaken in him; and by the music itself to fashion and enfranchise his heavenly soul into the everlasting harmony of angels, whereof these concords were a kind of terrestrial echo." Then followed the leave-taking of his two weeping younger brothers, to whom his farewell was: "Love my memory, cherish my friends; their faith to me may assure you that they are honest. But above all, govern your will and affections by the Will and Word of your Creator; in me beholding the end of this world with all her vanities." Sidney lived on, patient in suffering, until the seventeenth of October. When he was speechless before death, one who stood by asked Philip Sidney for a sign of his continued trust in God. He folded his hands as in prayer over his breast. So folded, they had become fixed and chill when the watchers placed them by his side, and in a few minutes the stainless representative of the young manhood of Elizabethan England passed away.

CHAPTER V.

OF SOME OTHER WRITERS BEFORE 1586.

ALL England mourned when the news came of Sir Philip Sidney's death; and when his body was brought home a princely funeral paid homage to the true soul that had also reached its home. Thirty drawings, etched in 1587 "by T. L[ant], Gent. servant to the said honourable knight," were designed to show, when joined together, the whole pomp of Sidney's obsequies. The four pall-bearers were Sidney's intimate friends; the dearest of these—Fulke Greville and Edward Dyer—were shown in front; the other two were Thomas Dudley, who was of his kindred, and Edward Wotton (elder brother of Sir Henry Wotton), who had been in his younger days Sidney's friend and companion at Vienna, named by him in the first sentence of his "Apologie for Poetrie." Edward Wotton had risen in public trust, and Sidney bequeathed to him by his will, in life-long remembrance of his love, an annual present of a buck from Penshurst. Sidney's brother next to him in age followed the body as chief mourner; then his youngest brother, with knights and gentlemen; then the Earls of Leicester and Huntingdon, of Pembroke and Essex, and other lords; then a representative of each of the United Provinces of the Netherlands; and so forth. There had been a pomp to precede the body, there was a pomp to follow, and there was the love of true friends by its side.

Sidney, Greville, and Dyer.

The friendship, dating from their boyhood, between Sidney, Greville, and Dyer was celebrated by Sidney in a playful pastoral with the burden—

> "Join hands and hearts, so let it be;
> Make but one mind in bodies three."

He wrote the initials E. D., F. G., P. S., in the margin of this one of its stanzas—

> "Welcome my two to me
> The number best beloved;
> Within my heart you be
> In friendship unremoved.
> Join hands and hearts, so let it be;
> Make but one mind in bodies three."

Sir Edward Dyer.

Edward Dyer was born two or three miles from Glastonbury, Somersetshire, in the house at Sharpham Park, afterwards the birthplace also of our great novelist, Henry Fielding. The house, in a deer park of about four hundred acres, had been built by Richard Beere, who was Abbot of Glastonbury between the years 1493 and 1524. His successor, Richard Whiting, who objected to the dissolution of the monasteries, was seized at Sharpham, kept about two months a prisoner, then dragged on a hurdle to the top of Tor Hill, and there hanged and quartered for "robbing Glastonbury Church." Henry VIII. took all, without being hanged for it, and granted Sharpham to Sir Thomas Dyer, the poet's father. There, no very long time afterwards, Sidney's friend was born. Dyer was sent in due time to Oxford, left the university without having graduated, travelled beyond seas, came home, and served in the Court of Elizabeth, by whom he was employed in several embassies. In 1579 Spenser published some of Gabriel Harvey's poems, dedicating them "to the right Worshipful gentleman and famous Courtier, Master Edward Diar, in a manner oure onlye Inglishe poett." In 1580 Gabriel Harvey

spoke of Sidney and Dyer as "the two very diamonds of Her Majesty's Court for many special and rare qualities." When Sidney died, in 1586, he left by will his books to be divided between his friends Edward Dyer and Fulke Greville. Edward Dyer was one of an embassy to Denmark in the year 1589, three years after Sidney's death; and in that year George Puttenham published an "Art of English Poesy," in which Dyer is praised as "for elegy most sweet, solemn and of high conceit." Mr. Edward Dyer was not a knight in his friend Sidney's life-time. He was not knighted until the year 1596, when he was also made Chancellor of the Garter. He died unmarried in 1607, and was buried in the chancel of St. Saviour's, Southwark.

Sir Edward Dyer's poems were not collected. He possessed himself, as courtier he would never fawn or cringe, and, being unmarried, he was addressed, in 1603, by John Davies of Hereford, as

> "Virgin knight, that dost thyself obscure
> From world's unequal eyes."

He described his own ideal of life in the most famous of his pieces, which begins—

> "My mind to me a kingdom is,
> Such present joys therein I find
> That it excels all other bliss
> That earth affords or grows by kind;
> Though much I want that most would have,
> Yet still my mind forbids to crave";

and thus it ends—

> "My wealth is health and perfect ease;
> My conscience clear my choice defence;
> I neither seek by bribes to please,
> Nor by deceit to breed offence;
> Thus do I live; thus will I die;
> Would all did so as well as I!"

Dyer and Sidney joined their wits in verse when Sidney replied to Dyer's poem of a satyr who, after Prometheus brought fire from heaven, kissed the new gift for its beauty, and burnt his lips as the fond lover burns his heart. Sidney's reply scouted a causeless fear—

> "Better like I thy Satyr, dearest Dyer,
> Who burnt his lips to kiss fair shining fire."

Fulke Greville.

Fulke Greville was born in the year of the birth of his friend Philip Sidney—1554—at Beauchamp Court, in Warwickshire. His mother was the daughter of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmorland, his father a rich landowner, kindly and hospitable, who was member for his county in 1586 and 1588, lived into the reign of James I., and was knighted in 1605, the year before his death.

In November, 1564, Sidney and Greville entered Shrewsbury school on the same day, Greville's name being written immediately after that of Sidney. Each of the two boys was ten years old, and the school itself was only one year older. The close friendship thus begun in early boyhood, and continued during twenty-two years until Sidney's death, still dwelt in the heart of Fulke Greville through the forty-two years of his life that followed. Time had not dulled the old affection, and the veteran statesman left directions that he should be described upon his tomb as "Fulke Greville, servant to Queen Elizabeth, Councillor to King James, Friend to Sir Philip Sidney." In his record of his friend's life Fulke Greville said, of Sidney's youth, "I will report no other wonder but this, that though I lived with him and knew him from a child, yet I never knew him other than a man."

About the time when Sidney went to Christ Church, Oxford, Fulke Greville, after four years at Shrewsbury, entered as a fellow-commoner at Jesus College, Cambridge,

matriculating on the twentieth of May, 1568. But the friendship was continued by home intercourse. Sir Henry Sidney gave Greville, in 1577, a small office at Ludlow, which he held for about a year, then resigned it, having obtained the reversion of two offices of far more value in the same Court of the Marches of the Principality of Wales. Then Greville came to Court, where, says Fuller, he came backed with a full and fair estate; and Queen Elizabeth loved such substantial courtiers as could plentifully subsist of themselves. Fulke Greville earned, however, by his noble qualities a high place in her favour.

In February, 1577, Fulke Greville went with Philip Sidney to Heidelberg, with the queen's condolence to John Casimir and his brother on the death of their father, the Elector Palatine. In 1578 Greville was on his way to the wars in the Netherlands, when his friend Edward Dyer was sent by Elizabeth to call him back; but a few months later he offended the queen by slipping off to Flanders in company with Walsingham, who had then been sent. In 1579 Greville went to Germany with Sidney's old friend Hubert Languet. Fulke Greville shared with Sidney the sports of the tournament at Whitehall in May, 1581, for the entertainment of French envoys; and he was with Sidney among those who accompanied the Duke of Anjou to Antwerp in February, 1582.

In 1583—the year of Philip Sidney's marriage to Fanny Walsingham—Greville entered into one of the offices of which he had obtained the reversion, that of Clerk of the Signet to the Council of Wales, which added two thousand a year to his income, a sum worth about five times as much in present buying power. Fulke Greville, like Edward Dyer, remained to the last unmarried.

In 1583, also, Greville shared the interest of Philip Sidney in Giordano Bruno, who was of their own age or but little older, and lived to be burnt as a heretic at Rome in

February, 1600. Giordano Bruno—born at Nola, in the kingdom of Naples—had quitted the Dominican Order for doubt of doctrine, as of Transubstantiation and Immaculate Conception. He went in 1577 to Geneva, where, after two years' stay, his spiritual freedom of inquiry displeased also the followers of Calvin. Then he went to Paris and taught logic till trouble came of his want of servile faith in all that was said in the schools to rest on the authority of Aristotle. This caused him to try London, in 1583. In London he lived two years in the house of Michel de Castelnau, Ambassador from France to Queen Elizabeth. So he became known at Court, where his best friends were Fulke Greville and Philip Sidney. Bruno advanced beyond the orthodoxy of all sects and creeds—saw one divine thought in the universe that made God manifest, and that, like God, was infinite. He looked into the material heaven with the eyes of Copernicus, who had died in 1543, and whose teaching was still held to be unorthodox in science. But his imagination shaped also a spiritual heaven, of which he could speak freely in high converse with men like Fulke Greville and Sir Philip Sidney. Giordano Bruno's *Spaccio della Bestia trionfante*—written at this time in London and dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney—was first published at Paris in 1584, and of that edition there were only twenty copies printed.

In 1585 Fulke Greville joined with Sidney in the intention to sail with Drake, and went with Sidney for that purpose to Plymouth, whence the queen recalled them both. Greville desired also to go with Sidney to the Netherlands in 1586, but could not obtain the queen's permission; and he heard in England of the death of the friend upon whom he wrote an elegy—published in 1593 in the collection of poems called "The Phœnix Nest"—with passion of lament, "Enraged I write I know not what: dead, quick, I know not how"—

"Hard hearted minds relent, and Rigour's tears abound,
And Envy strangely rues his end in whom no fault she found;
Knowledge his light hath lost, Valour hath slain her knight,—
Sidney is dead, dead is my friend, dead is the world's delight."

Fulke Greville was a friend also to Francis Bacon, whom, in 1594, he sought to help in his unsuccessful suit for the office of Solicitor-General. Bacon recorded of Greville afterwards, in his "Apophthegms, new and old," that he "had much and private access to Queen Elizabeth, which he used honourably, and did many men good: yet he would say merrily of himself that he was like Robin Goodfellow: for when the maids spilt the milk pans or kept any racket, they would lay it upon Robin: so what tales the ladies about the Queen told her, or other bad offices that they did, they would put it upon him."

Greville sat in Parliament for Warwickshire in 1592–3, 1597, and 1601. In October, 1597, he was knighted. In 1599 or 1600 he was appointed for life Treasurer of Marine Causes. There were three or four of Fulke Greville's early poems printed in "England's Helicon" in 1600, and one in the same year in Bodenham's "Belvedere," which may be added to his poem on the death of Sidney in "The Phœnix Nest." Nothing else was printed in Elizabeth's reign; and although much of his "Cœlica," and other poems of his, must have been written early in life, the verse of mature years has been so joined to the revised verse of his youth that we must wait to speak of his poems as a whole when studying the literature of the reign of James I.

Of the writers named by William Webbe in his "Discourse of Poetrie," there remain four yet to be accounted for—Edward Knight, Abraham Fraunce, John Grange, and Anthony Munday.

Little is known of Edward Knight, whose initials, "E. K.,

Gentleman," are before commendatory verses prefixed to Munday's "Mirror of Mutabilitie," Ed. Knight being signed at the end. This must be Webbe's "Knyght" in the list of good poets—the only known person who might be the "E. K." of Spenser's "Shepheardes Calender," if he was not Edward Kirke. Edward Knight.

Abraham Fraunce, born in Shropshire, is said to have been educated at Shrewsbury School, and to have found a patron in Philip Sidney, who sent him to Cambridge and afterwards befriended him. Fraunce became a pensioner at St. John's College in May, 1575, a Lady Margaret scholar in November, 1578, and a Fellow of his college in 1580. He proceeded B.A. in 1579-80, commenced M.A. in 1583, removed to Gray's Inn, and was in due time called to the Bar. Abraham Fraunce, as a poet, took strong interest in the reformed manner of versifying. Webbe knew him as a Cambridge man, and one of the enthusiasts in Ascham and Drant's college, St. John's, for writing English verse with Latin. He published nothing before 1586, his earliest printed verse being, in 1587, a translation into English hexameters of Thomas Watson's Latin poem of "Amyntas," which had first appeared in 1585.* We return to him, therefore, in a later chapter. But it may here be noted that a book on rhetoric—"The Arcadian Rhetorike," published in 1588—showed Fraunce to be in the circle of Philip Sidney's literary friends; for in this book he quoted passages out of "The Faerie Queene" two years before any part of that poem was published. Abraham Fraunce.

John Grange is known only as author of a single love pamphlet called "The Golden Aphroditis: A pleasant Discourse, penned by John Grange, Gentleman, student in

* "The Lamentations of Amintas for the death of Phillis: Paraphrastically translated out of Latine into English Hexameters."

the Common Lavve of Englande. Wherevnto be annexed by the same Author as well certain Metres vpon sundry poyntes, as also diuers Pamphlets in prose, which he intituleth His Garden: pleasant to the eare, and delightful to the Reader, if he abuse not the scent of the flowres.

John Grange.

> 'Habet et musca splenem
> Et formicæ sua bilis inest.'"

Printed at London in 4to blackletter by Henry Bynneman, in 1577, and dedicated "to the right Honourable and his singular good Lord the Lord Sturton." It sets forth the love of N. O. for A. O. (Alpha and Omega), the first and last daughter of Endymion and Diana. N. O., of the race of Hippomenes, disdaining the froth of Venus, was struck with love toward A. O., by Venus, at a time when the gods, after their nectar, bend their eyes earthward and are merry. Upon this conceit is built a little fabric of love-letters, dialogues, and poems, written in the fashion of the customary love pamphlet, and all tending to the support of honest thought, being written, as Grange's motto has it, *Tam Minervæ quam Veneri.* In the appended "Gárden" all the pieces are of love, except one of dissuasion from the peril of the sea, if that be an exception.

Anthony Munday wrote as early as 1580 and as late as 1621. He was a London draper's son, of the same age as Spenser, born in 1553. Christopher Munday, his father, was dead in October, 1576, when Anthony Munday was apprenticed at Stationers' Hall to John Aldee for eight years. John Aldee, as a stationer, was much engaged in the printing of ballads and such small works as then formed a chief part of current literature. Since Munday was twenty-three years old when he apprenticed himself to a stationer, we may accept the record of an antagonist who said of him, "Munday was

Anthony Munday.

first a stage player, after an apprentice." The opponent's record * goes on to say of Munday's apprenticeship, "which time he well served with deceiving of his master; then wandering towards Italy, by his own report became a cozener in his journey." Munday produced a certificate from John Aldee to disprove the charge that he had deceived his master, but did not deny the assertion that he began life as a player and had gone back to the stage. He did not serve long as an apprentice, but his indentures seem to have been cancelled with the goodwill of John Aldee. A little publication, not now to be found, was entered at Stationers' Hall in November, 1577, to John Charlwood, as "The Defence of Poverty against the Desire of Worldly Riches, dialoguewise, collected by Anthony Mundaye"; but Munday says that John Aldee printed his first work, and Aldee published in October, 1579, what Munday may well have regarded as his first piece of substantial work, a religious companion to "The Mirror for Magistrates," called "The Mirrour of Mutabilitie; or, principal part of the Mirrour of Magistrates, selected out of the sacred scriptures." Mirrors were in fashion. There was a "Theatre or Mirror of the World," in 1569; a "Mirror of Madness," in 1576; a "Mirror of Modestie" had been licensed to Edward White in April, 1579; there was afterwards a "Mirror of Mirth," in 1583; a "Mirror of Man's Miseries," in 1584; a "Mirror of Magnanimity," in 1599; a "Mirror of Martyrs," in 1601, with more of the kind. Mathematics, Politics, and the Latin Tongue were shown also in Mirrors. "The Mirrour of Mutabilities"

"The Mirrour of Mutabilitie."

* In "A true reporte of the death and martyrdome of M. Campion, Jesuite and preiste, and M. Sherwin and M. Bryan, preistes, at Tiborne, the first of December, 1581. Observed and written by a Catholike preist which was present therat. Whereunto is annexid certayne verses made by sundrie persons." This pamphlet is on twenty-six leaves, printed at Douay.

was a series of metrical tragedies in two parts, the first illustrating the Seven Deadly Sins with seven stories: Pride, with the story of Nebuchadnezzar; Envy, with that of Herod; Wrath, by Pharaoh; Lechery, by David; Gluttony, by Dives, in the parable; Avarice, by Judas; and Sloth by Jonah, "for his slothful slackness in obeying the commandment of the Lord, being sent to preach to the Ninevites." In the next book were eleven Complaints: as of Absalom, for vain aspiring; of Jephthah, for his rash vow; and so forth. Each poem had its moral theme set before it in an acrostic; the poems illustrating the Seven Deadly Sins thus give occasion for seven prefatory acrostics on their names, of which this is one—

Slothe.

"S loth is a foe unto all virtuous deeds,
L earning surmounts the golden heaps of gain:
O f idle life therefore destroy the weeds,
T hink what renown Dame Science doth maintain:
H enceforth subdue all idle thoughts in thee,
E xample good to all thy life will be."

When "The Mirror of Mutabilitie" was published, Munday had already travelled through France to Rome. In France he had been robbed and stripped by soldiers between Boulogne and Abbeville. At Rome he had been received as the Pope's scholar into the English Seminary. On the eighth of March, 1580, there was licensed to John Charlwood, at Stationers' Hall, "a ballet made by Anthony Monday of the encoragement of an Englishe soldier to his fellow mates."

In 1580 Munday published "The Paine of Pleasure, Profitable to be perused of the wise, and necessary to be followed by the wanton," and also a piece suggested immediately by the success of Lyly's "Euphues" the year before, "Zelavto. The

Early Pamphlets.

Fountaine of Fame. Erected in an Orchard of Amorous Adventures. Containing a Delicate Disputation, gallantly discoursed between two noble Gentlemen of Italye. Given for a friendly entertainment to Euphues, at his late arrivall into England. By A. M. seruaunt to the Right Honourable the Earle of Oxenford." Yet again, in 1580, Munday's busy pen supplied the printers. His third pamphlet of this year—which, like the other two, bore the motto, *Honor alit artes*—was suggested by the murder of a hosier in Newgate Market, and was called "A View of Sundry Examples. Reporting many strange murthers, sundry persons perjured, signes and tokens of God's anger towards us. What straunge and monstrous Children have of late beene borne: And all memorable murthers since the murther of Maister Saunders by George Browne" [1573] "to this present and bloody murther of Abell Bourne, Hosyer, who dwelled in Newgate Market 1580. Also short discourse of the late Earthquake, the sixt of Aprill. Gathered by A. M. *Honor alit artes.* Imprinted at London for William Wright, and are to be sold at the long shop, adjoyning vnto S. Mildred's Church in the Poultrie." Here also Munday writes himself, in a dedication, "seruaunt to the right Honorable the Earle of Oxenford,' Edward Vere, himself among the poets.* Before the "Mirror of Mutabilitie," Munday, who was one of the earl's company of actors, had written an acrostic on the family motto of the Veres, *Vero nihil verius.* "The View of Sundry Examples" mixes a blazing star and other signs and warnings against sin, besides the earthquake, with the short detail of murders that set forth men's evil way of life.

How Anthony Munday and other writers of these ephemeral pamphlets could hunt the letter when they aimed at eloquence may be illustrated by the example of George Browne, who murthered maister George Saunders,

* "E. W." viii. 217, 222.

of whom, says Munday, "he, a wretch, more *d*esirous of his *d*eath than *w*ylling his *w*elfare, *m*ore *m*indfull of *m*urther then *s*aveguard of his *s*oule, so *b*ent to *b*lindnesse that he expected not the light, *str*ooke the *str*oke that returned his *s*hame, *d*yd the *d*eede that *d*rove him to *d*estiny, and *f*ul*f*illed the *f*act that in the end he *f*ound *f*olly." There were a dozen lines of rhyme before this pamphlet, in which Munday said to his "good reader"—

> "If thou do content thee
> with this my poor wish,
> Ere long shall be sent thee
> a delicate dish."

But in the next two years, except "A Covrtly Controuersie between Looue and Learning," his delicate dish consisted of six pamphlets upon the arraignment and execution of Edmund Campion—against whom Munday had played the part of an informer—and the execution of other Romanists as traitors. Honour did not sustain the arts by which Edmund Campion and his friends, Ralph Sherwin and Alexander Brian, were brought to the gallows at Tyburn on the first of December, 1581. Munday was one of three witnesses—Sledd and Caddy were the other two—who assisted in the cruel work by giving evidence dishonourable to themselves. Munday professed that when he was in Rome as the Pope's scholar at the Seminary, he was there under false pretences; that he went to spy, and thereupon he gave weak evidence of meetings for conspiracy against the queen. Munday put himself forward throughout the whole business. I think he believed that he was acting in the interests of true religion, and was only blinded by the passions of the time. In 1581 he published four leaves of "an advertisement and defence for truth" against the favourers of Campion, also "a breefe discourse of the taking of Edm. Campion and divers other

Pamphlets against Edmund Campion and other Romanists.

Papists in Barkeshire," followed in 1582 by "A Discoverie of Edmund Campion and his Confederates, their most horrible and traiterous practises against her Majesties most royall person and the Realm . . . whereto is added the Execution of Edmund Campion, Raphe Sherwin, and Alexander Brian, executed at Tiborne the 1 of December. Published by A. M. sometime the Popes Scholler, allowed in the Seminarie at Roome amongst them." Munday replied also to two pamphlets that defended Campion. Then he published "A breefe and true reporte" of the execution at Tyburn of seven other priests on the twenty-eighth and thirtieth of May, 1582, with *Honos alit artes* for his motto still. At the execution each condemned man was in turn urged to retract. One had the rope taken from around his neck, because he seemed to be upon the point of yielding, and then fitted again. Two of the condemned, repudiating Munday's evidence against them, derived from the time when he knew them at Rome in the Seminary, had Munday himself brought forward to wrangle with them under the gallows, as he sets forth with a satisfaction not shared by the modern reader.

Campion desired to inspire conforming Catholics in England with courage to declare their true opinions. He wished undoubtedly to see the English Church again obedient to the Pope's authority; but, while he denied Elizabeth's supremacy over the Church, he did not gainsay her temporal power, and died praying for her. Others who suffered with him were of like opinion, loyal to their consciences and wishing no ill to the queen. Some Englishmen there were who, like Nicholas Sanders, went much further—who rebelled against her whole authority, were traitors who wished to drive her from her throne, sharing the desires of Spanish and Italian priests. The devotion of the Jesuits to their Church made their influence in England a real danger, and the fear of it was magnified by passions of the day. There

is no religious hatred—the words contradict each other. But where imperfect men feel deeply they think passionately; they feel deeply about religion; passion then distorts their view of it. They fight round about the sacred temple without finding their way in. And yet their cry of strife is in its courts, and yet they do enter its courts with praise. Cries of true worship are inextricably blended with death-groans and curses, on the way of man's long, uncompleted struggle through his savage life towards the higher life to come. That enmity to Rome, of which we shall find bitter expression in "The Faerie Queene" associated with the subtlest voice of the soul's music, is shown as a blind passion by Anthony Munday in such a passage as this, taken from his account of the executions on the twenty-eighth and thirtieth of May, 1582. John Sherte having been brought from off the hurdle to the gallows, when urged by the sheriff, said—

"No, no; I am a Catholique; in that faith I was borne, in that faith will I dye, and heere shall my blood seale it. Then Maister Sherife spake unto him (saying) By the way as you came you swore an oath, for which you willed me to beare witnesse that you were hartily sorie. Now, I pray you, let me be a witnesse that you are as hartilie sorie for offending the Queenes Majestie. Why, sir, (quoth he) I have not offended her, without it be in my religion, and if I have offended her, then I aske her forgivenesse. Maister Sherife upon this sayde unto him, Is this the fruytes of your religion, to kneele to the dead bodie of thy fellowe, and to desire his soule to pray for thee? Alas, what can it eyther helpe or hinder thee? praye then to God, and hee will helpe thee. Maister Sherife, (quoth Sherte) this is the true Catholique religion, and whatsoever is not of it is dampned. I desire his soule to pray for me, the most glorious Virgin to pray for me, and all the holy company of heaven to pray for me.

"At which woords the people cryed, Away with the traytor, hang him, hang him! O Shert, (quoth Maister Sherife) forsake the whore of Roome, that wicked Antichriste, with all his abominable blasphemies and trecheries, and put thy whole confidence in Jesus Christ: whereto he aunswered, O, Mr. Sherife, you little remember the day whenas you and I shall stande bothe at one bar, and I

come as witnesse against you, that you called that holie and blessed Viccar of Christ the whoore of Rome : at which words the people cried again, Hang him, hang him, Away with him !"

At the end of this pamphlet Munday invited the reader, who desired to be "more acquainted with Romish and satanical jugglings," to read his "English Roman life," which, as soon as it could be printed, would be set forth. It was set forth in the same year 1582, as "The English Romayne Lyfe : Discovering the Lives of the Englishmen at Roome, the orders of the English Seminarie, the dissention betweene the Englishmen and the Welshmen, the banishing of the Englishmen out of Roome, the Popes sending for them againe : a reporte of many of the paltrie Reliques in Roome, their Vautes under the grounde, their holy Pilgrimages, &c. Written by A. M., sometime the Pope's Scholler in the Seminarie among them. *Honos alit Artes.* Seene and allowed. Imprinted at London by John Charlewood, for Nicholas Ling dwelling in Paules church-yarde, at the signe of the Maremaid. Anno 1582."

In 1583, when he had so far profited by his zeal as to have become one of the Messengers of her Majesty's Chamber, there is entry of a book—not extant now—"The sweete Sobbes and amorous Complaints of Sheppardes and Nymphes, in a fancye composed by An. Monday," a lost piece in which Puttenham found "the most exquisite vein of a witty poetical head." In 1584 Munday published two pamphlets. One was "A Watch-word to Englande to beware of Traytors and tretcherous practises," a piece which still linked treason with religion. The other was "Fidele and Fortunio the Deceipts in Love discoursed in a Comedie of two Italyan Gentlemen translated into Englishe." We leave this industrious writer for the present at the year 1586, when his contribution to literature was another book now lost, "Ant. Munday, his godly Exercise for Christian Families, containing an order of

Other Writings until 1586.

Praiers for Morning and Evening, with a little catechism between the Man and his Wife."

Thomas Watson.

Thomas Watson, born about the time of Queen Elizabeth's accession to the throne and dying in 1592, was wholly an Elizabethan poet. The thirty-five years of his age were all lived in Elizabeth's reign. He was born in London, studied in Oxford, then was in London again, and applied himself to common law. He was in Paris for a time before 1581, in which year he published a version in Latin of the "Antigone" of Sophocles. A scholar and a poet; at first writing chiefly in Latin, afterwards in English verse; appreciated as he deserved to be by Sidney, Lyly, and Peele, a friend of Spenser's—Watson was the sweetest of the purely amatory poets of Elizabeth's reign. In 1582 appeared his book with a Greek and an English title—Greek titles were then becoming fashionable—"*Ἑκατομπαθία*, or the Passionate Centurie of Love," —that is to say, a Love Passion in a Hundred Sonnets. It is said on its title-page to be "divided into two parts: whereof, the first expresseth the Authors sufferance in Loue: the latter, his long farewell to Loue and all his tyrannie." According to the old Italian method, which had been revived by Surrey, exercises upon various phases of the passion of love in sequences of sonnets were still in fashion; these poems were known as Passions. Thomas Watson had been translating sonnets of Petrarch into Latin before he wrote an English sequence of his own, and he introduced as part of his sequence of a hundred love poems three translations into Latin of three sonnets by Petrarch,* and two of his own pieces in Latin. Each of Watson's hundred poems has a prose explanation before it, and each English piece consists of three of the six-lined stanzas then called Common Verse, the stanza

"*Ἑκατομπαθία.*"

* They are the sonnets beginning *S' amor non è* (of which Watson gives also an English version), *Orchè l ciel*, and *Tennemi amor.*

which, as King James VI. recorded, poets were to use "in materis of love." Take one of Watson's for example—

> "Tully, whose speech was bold in ev'ry cause,
> If he were here to praise the saint and serve,
> The number of her gifts would make him pause,
> And fear to speak how well he doth deserve.
> Why then am I thus bold that have no skill?
> Enforced by love, I show my zealous will."

Watson's "Passionate Centurie of Love" includes in a dozen of its English pieces imitations of passages in the "Strambotti" of Serafino, besides imitations of Petrarch, of Politian, and other Italians, and of Ronsard and Etienne Forcadel (Forcatullus), a French lawyer-poet who died in 1573. Watson shows himself to have been very well read in the poets of his time.

In 1585 appeared Watson's Latin poem, "Amyntas," which Abraham Fraunce translated, and from which his fellow poets took the name they gave to Watson in their rhymes. In 1595 — after "Italian Madrigals Englished" and other works —appeared his sonnets entitled "Teares of Fansie; or, Love Disdained." "Amyntas."

The sonnets of the "Teares of Fansie" were not eighteen-lined like those of "The Passionate Centurie," but fourteen-lined poems consisting of three four-lined stanzas, each with its own separate alternate rhymes and at the close a couplet, as in the sonnets of Shakespeare. The best English poets and scholars of his time were among the friends of Thomas Watson, who himself united a fine scholarship with skill in verse. He had been with Walsingham in Paris, and published in 1590, under the name of "Melibœus," in Latin and English, "An Eglogue vpon the death of the Right Honourable Sir "Teares of Fansie." "Melibœus."

Francis Walsingham, Late principall Secretarie to her Maiestie, and of her moste Honourable Priuie Councell. Written first in latine by Thomas Watson, Gentleman, and now by himselfe translated into English," wherein he explains to the reader that "I figure England in Arcadia; Her Maiestie in Diana; Sir Francis Walsingham in Melibœus, and his Ladie in Dryas; Sir Philippe Sidney in Astrophill, and his Ladie in Hyale, Master Thomas Walsingham in Tyterus, and my selfe in Corydon." When Watson draws this poem to a close with praises of the queen, he breaks from his own song of

> "Diana, holy both in deed and will,
> Diana, whose just praises have no end,"

to exclaim—

> "Yet lest my homespun verse obscure hir worth,
> Sweet Spenser let me leave this taske to thee,
> Whose never stooping quill can best set forth
> Such things of state as pass my Muse and me.
> Thou Spenser art the alderliefest swain,
> Or haply, if that word be all too base,
> Thou art Apollo, whose sweet honey vein
> Amongst the Muses hath a chiefest place."

Let Spenser, therefore, comfort the queen. Let him tell her forthwith, for well she likes his vein,

> "That though great Melibœus be away,
> Yet like to him there manie still remain
> Which will uphold her country from decay."

Praises then follow of Damœtas, who is Hatton; Damon, who is Cecil; Ægon, who is Howard, and the piece comes to its pastoral close.

It may be added that among the poems in Watson's "Passionate Centurie" there are two or three acrostics, and there is an example of the shaped verses which were at this time beginning to come into fashion in England, and which seem to have had their

Shaped Verses.

inspiration from the scissor work of the Italian tailors. Watson's attempt in this direction is called "a Pasquin Pillar erected in the despite of Love," and has in it five several mechanical ingenuities, besides that of the shape in which it is printed. Pasquino, in whose name the piece is given, was really a Roman tailor of the close of the fifteenth century, with reputation for keen wit. After his death a fragment of a statue, supposed to represent Menelaus supporting the dead body of Patroclus, was dug up opposite his shop, set up by the Braschi Palace, and named after him. Then arose the practice of fixing jests against Pope, cardinal, or anybody else, upon this statue, and calling them Pasquinades. So Watson called the pillar carrying his verses "in despite of Love" a Pasquin Pillar. Ancient authority was cited for the tasteless ingenuities of shaped verse that were now beginning to find favour. Twenty verses, so arranged that each pair was shorter than the pair before it, were said to depict the ten reeds of the Pan's pipe, and to form the Syrinx of Theocritus. The egg-shaped poem was said to come from Anacreon, and the general invention of shaped verses was ascribed to Simmias of Rhodes, and placed as far back as the close of the fourth century before Christ. It was not until the time of the Stuarts that this fashion, which began to find its way into England in the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, was widely followed. It was said of a small English poet in the reign of Charles II., "as for altars and pyramids in poetry he has outdone all men that way: for he has made a gridiron and a frying pan in verse, that besides the likeness in shape, the very tone and sound of the words did perfectly represent the noise that is made by those utensils."

Thomas Howell wrote many small pieces of verse in which honest commonplaces of the poets were skilfully set forth in a variety of metres. He published three collections of his poems, and in the

Thomas Howell.

third collection a few of his earlier pieces were repeated with some revision. The first collection was made in his youth, and was called "The Arbor of Amitie, wherein is comprised pleasant poems and pretie Posies, set forth by Thomas Howell Gentleman. Anno 1568. Imprinted at London by Henry Denham, dwelling in Pater noster Rowe at the sign of the Starre." Howell's chief friend in "The Arbor of Amitie" was John Keper, who wrote preliminary praise, and with whom in all his books he interchanged verses. Keeper, or Keper, studied at Oxford, was of Hart Hall, and graduated as B.A. in 1568. If their friendship was a college friendship, Howell and not Hall must be meant by a Thomas Haull who was admitted to his B.A. in 1567. From a poem in "The Arbor of Amitie," published in 1568, it is to be inferred that Thomas Howell was of Dunster, Somerset, and its dedication shows that he was in the service of George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, or of his countess. Another small collection of Howell's must have been published nearly at the same time. There is no date on the title-page, but the book was licensed in 1567–8 to Thomas Colwell, who published it as "Newe Sonets and pretie Pamphlets. Written by Thomas Howell, Gentleman. Newly augmented, corrected and amended." The third and last of his little books of verse, published by H. Jackson in 1581, is entitled, "H, His Devises for his owne exercise, and his Friends pleasure." This is dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney's sister, the Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke, as "this slender worke of your seruant, which as I did wryte at ydle times in your house to auoyde greater ydlenesse or worse businesse: so I present it humbly unto you, as a testimony of my bounden dutie." Of each of these little books only one copy has come

"The Arbor of Amitie."

John Keper.

Howell's "Newe Sonets."

Howell's "Devises."

down to us, and the only reprint of them has been in an edition limited to fifty copies.*

There remains also but a single copy of Humphrey Gifford's poems, published in 1580 as a "Posie of Gilleflowers," which has been reprinted by Dr. Grosart in an edition limited to forty copies. Little is known of Humphrey Gifford but that Dr. Grosart has shown him to be the son of Anthony Gifford, who was of a family long settled at Halsbury, in Devonshire. Anthony Gifford married Dorothy Wykes, and had four sons, of whom Humphrey was the third. This Humphrey Gifford is to be distinguished from another of the same name, who in his days held some office in London at the Compter, or debtors' prison, in the Poultry. Humphrey Gifford, the poet, was in the service of Edward—afterwards Sir Edward—Cope, of Eden, in Northamptonshire, a magistrate who favoured Puritan preachers, and to him Gifford dedicated his "Posie." Humphrey Gifford married into the Cope family and had five children—two sons, Anthony and Dolorus, with three daughters, Katherine, Agnes, and Elizabeth. No more is known of him beyond his book, which was entitled "A Posie of Gilleflowers, eche differing from other in colour and odour, yet all sweete. By Humfrey Gifford, Gent. Imprinted at London for Iohn Perin, and are to be solde at his shop in Paules Churchyard at the signe of the Angell.

Humphrey Gifford

"A Posie of Gilleflowers."

* "The Poems of Thomas Howell (1568–1581). Edited, with Introduction and Notes and Illustrations, by the Rev. Alexander Grosart, LL.D., F.S.A. Part I., The Arbor of Amitie, Part II., Newe Sonets and Pretie Pamphlets, His Devises. Introduction and Notes." Of each Part Fifty Copies only. Printed for the Subscribers. 1879. Dr. Grosart edited in the same manner "The Complete Poems and Translations in Prose of Humfrey Gifford, Gentleman (1580)." Forty Copies only. Printed for the Subscribers. 1875.

1580." It contains translations into prose and original poems. Gifford dedicates his little book to Edward Cope as "the only maister that euer I serued, vnto whom (my parentes excepted) I acknowledge my selfe more bounde then to al the worlde besides." He adds also before the second part of his book, which contains his original verses, a letter of dedication to the worshipful John Stafford of Bletherwick, Esquire. The prose part of the book consists of translations chiefly from pieces of Italian —there is only one from the French—that Gifford had thought worth reproducing in English. First there is a treatise in form of an epistle "written in Italian by Maister Claudius Ptholomæus for the comforting of his uery loving and learned friend Maister Dionysius being fallen into poverty," a piece following the fashion of the Golden Epistles of Guevara, founded upon the moral essays of Plutarch and Seneca. The Italian author was the Bishop Claudio Tolomei, founder of the *Academia delle virtù*, who died in 1555, and was active in endeavour to introduce Latin and Greek verse-measures into Italian poetry. Gifford translated also another letter by Tolomei in answer to a friend, who asked why he who had much learning chose to remain in a poor calling. The next piece—translated from the French—is a very allegorical picture of the state of the man warred against by Mishap and Poverty, entitled a "Supplication presented by John Meschinot Esquire unto the Duke of Brittany his Lord and Master, wherein he nameth himself the Banished from Joyfulness." Jean Meschinot, who died in 1509, was Maître d'Hôtel to Anne of Bretagne and to a duke or two before her. Five pithy tales from the Italian complete the prose part of the book. The verse begins with a prayer, in which the first, third, fifth, and other such alternate lines begin with letters forming the names, Dorothy, Samuel, Daniel, Danvers; the second, fourth and sixth, and other such alternate lines begin with letters

forming the words, Temperance, Justice, Prudence, leaving the last lines in each series to begin with letters that give severally the names Humphri and Giffard. But Humphrey Gifford does not again attempt this kind of ingenuity, except in a piece of four quatrains, where a fifth quatrain is formed by the opening words of the sixteen successive lines.

There is colour and perfume in Gifford's "Gilleflowers." He writes musical verse, and tunes it to the fancies of a poet. There are playful tales; there is religious aspiration; there is praise of music as the type of spiritual harmony; there is heartening of brave soldiers, with their battle turned into a type of the long war against the world, the flesh, and devil; there is praise of the peace England owed to God and to the queen. Two pieces are taken from French poets—one from Marot; and after a poem of his own entitled "Farewell Court!" written at some length on the suggestion of a friend, Gifford finishes his "Posie" with a translation from the Italian of eighteen rhymed riddles.

One of the poems of Gifford—that "Of the Vanitie of the World," is in three stanzas of elaborated music, each of sixteen dancing lines, of which the first six are in a measure used afterwards with exquisite grace by Drayton in his "Nymphidia." This is the first of the three stanzas—

"As I lay musing in my bed,
A heap of fancies came in head,
Which greatly did molest me.
Such sundry thoughts of joy and pain
Did meet within my pondring brain,
That nothing could I rest me.
Sometimes I felt exceeding joy,
Sometimes the torment of annoy,
Even now I laugh, even now I weep,
Even now a slumber made me sleep.
Thus did I with thoughts of strange device
Lie musing in a pensive wise:

I knew not what means might health procure,
Nor finish the toil I did endure.
And still I lay, and found no way
The best could make my cares decay."

The ballad measure of "The Children in the Wood," used afterwards by Cowper in the story of "John Gilpin," was used playfully by Humphrey Gifford in his "mery Iest," that begins

"Sometimes in France, a woman dwelt,
Whose husband being dead,
Within a year, or somewhat more,
Another did her wed."

A poor scholar came by her house when her husband was away. He asked alms, therefore, of the dame. She had him in and gave him meat, and asked from whence he came—

"'I come,' quoth he, 'from Paris town';
'From Paradise?' quoth she:
'Men call that Paradise the place
Where all good souls shall be.

"'Cham * sure my vurst goodman is dear,
Who died this other year:
Chould give my friend a good grey groat
Some news of him to hear.'

"He saw she did mistake his words,
And thought to make some glee;
And said, 'Your husband is in health—
I lately did him see.'

"'Now by my troth,' quoth she, 'cham glad:
Good scholar, do declare,
Was not he wroth because I sent
Him from this world so bare?'

* The old *ic*, *ich*, that became *I*, was joined to the verb, making *icham* for I am, *ichould* for I would, which became *cham* and *chould* n rustic speaking that preserved old forms. This was commonly used as a mark of country folk's English.

"'Indeed,' quoth he, 'he was displeased,
And thought it far unmeet,
You having all, to send him hence
With nothing but a sheet.'"

The good wife then sent to her first husband in Paradise a large bundle of clothes by this trustworthy messenger. Her second husband returned in half an hour, was told what she had done, called her a fool, and rode after the scholar with a bundle (fardell) at his back. The scholar, when overtaken, hid the bundle in a ditch. To the question whether he had seen a man with a fardell at his back, he answered he had seen him pass over yonder stile.

"With hasty speed he down alights,
And doth the scholar pray,
Till he the man had overta'en
So long the horse to stay.

"Until he passed out of sight
Full still the scholar bides:
Who taking then his fardell on
His horse, away he rides."

The husband marched home in his boots.

"His wife did meet him at the door,
'Hayee caught man?' quoth she.
'No, dame,' he said, 'he caught my horse:
The Divel take him and thee!'

"With that she laughed, and clapt her hands,
And said, 'cham glad ich swear,
For now he hath a horse to ride
He will be quickly there.'"

Little is to be said of a volume entitled "The most famous and Tragicall Historie of Pelops and Hippodamia. Whereunto are adioyned sundry pleasant deuises, Epigrams, Songes and Sonnettes. Written by Mathew Groue. Imprinted at London by Abel Ieffs dwelling in the Fore streete without Creeplegate, neere

Mathew Grove.

vnto Grub streete. 1587." R. Smith, in a metrical dedication to Lord Compton, grandson to George Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, said that he had picked the manuscript out of the water more than four years ago, and knew nothing of who the author was or whether he were alive or dead. It was written, therefore, in or before 1583. There remained only Lord Ellesmere's one copy of the printed book when Dr. Grosart reproduced it in a limited edition of fifty copies. The poems have no interest except as specimens of poor thought, imperfectly expressed; but it is to be remembered to the credit of their author that he was not answerable for their publication. Having made his collection, and then felt its feebleness, he seems to have himself attempted to dispose of it in a judicious way.

But the life that breaks into full utterance by song was rising in free power through the years when Spenser was at work upon his "Faerie Queene." English poets were still touched, not only by the courtly fashions, but also by the genius of Italy. Watson's Latin "Amyntas" appeared twelve years after Tasso's Italian "Amintà," and Abraham Fraunce, in 1591, united the two in his English hexameters published as "The Countess of Pembroke's Yuychurch. Conteining the affectionate Life and unfortunate Death of Phyllis and Amyntas; That in a Pastorall; this in a Funerall." Of the Pastoral, the greater part is a close translation of Tasso's "Amintà"; the Funeral is mainly an English version of Watson's "Amyntas." But Tasso concerns us most as a great poet of his own day who was read by Spenser with a delight that finds its echoes in "The Faerie Queene." Ariosto—whose "Orlando Furioso" had undoubtedly contributed to the first shaping of Spenser's poem, and by which, perhaps, it had been first inspired—had died in 1533, twenty years before Spenser was born; but Tasso, born in 1544, was Spenser's contemporary, only nine years older than himself.

Italian Influence.

Torquato Tasso was born at Sorrento on the eleventh of March, 1544, and died in Rome on the twenty-fifth of April, 1595, aged fifty-one. He belonged to an old family of Bergamo, and was a poet's son. His father, Bernardo Tasso, full fifty years old at the time of his son's birth, had then been for thirteen years in the service of Ferrante Sanseverino, Prince of Salerno, and had married in 1536 the beautiful and spiritual Porzia de' Rossi, of the house of the Marquises of Calenzano. Their son Torquato was first educated at schools of the Jesuits in Naples, Rome, and Bergamo. They were the best schools of the time. At eight years old the boy read Greek and Latin, and had begun to write Italian verse. Tasso.

Bernardo Tasso, involved in the troubles of his patron, who was exiled from Salerno, went to France, leaving his wife and children to the care of relatives. After two years in France he joined his prince in Rome, and sent for his son Torquato, his wife and daughter then entering a convent at Naples. Torquato Tasso wrote a little sonnet to his mother on their parting. Political feuds parted Bernardo Tasso from his wife's relations. He could never see his wife again—she died broken-hearted in 1556—and his daughter was denied to him: she was married at fifteen. Rome became an unsafe place for the father when Emperor and Pope fell out, but shelter was offered to him at Pesaro by a liberal patron of literature, the Duke of Urbino, Guidobaldo II., and it was thus that Torquato Tasso was taught with the Duke of Urbino's son, Francesco Maria della Rovere.

Bernardo Tasso's poem, "L'Amadigi di Francia," founded on the first and best of the Spanish romances of chivalry, "Amadis of Gaul," was begun with encouragement from his patron Sanseverino, and was planned in stanzas of octave rhyme on a scale as large as that of Ariosto's "Orlando Furioso," of which the first forty cantos had been published

in 1515. Bernardo Tasso's "Amadigi" was first published at Bergamo in 1555, when his son Torquato was a boy of eleven. The "Amadigi" had been two years before the public when Torquato, poet born, went from a rhymer's home to study law at Padua. This was a year after his mother's death. At Padua he studied little law, much Dante, and wrote verse. His father's long romance in verse told of the loves of Amadis and Oriana, with interwoven love-stories of Floridante and Floridora, and of Alidoro and Mirinda. It was followed by nineteen cantos of a separate poem of "Floridante," worked out of the episode in the "Amadigi," and including a repetition of eight of its cantos with little change. "Floridante" was left unfinished, and published by the son after the father's death.

It was of little use for such a father to dissuade his son from writing verse. Young Tasso, while a student at Padua, but eighteen years old, printed at Venice in 1562 an epic poem in twelve books on one of Ariosto's heroes, "Rinaldo." The poem was written in ten months, was praised throughout Italy, and found more readers than Bernardo's "Amadigi." In the "Amadigi" musical verse and grace of expression, with abundant supply of battles, combats, and love-passages, could not atone for want of skill in twisting the threads of the fable. The success of his son's "Rinaldo" satisfied Bernardo Tasso as a crowning argument against continuance of the law studies. Free way was made for literature and philosophy, and already, while student at Padua, Torquato Tasso resolved upon the poem which became his masterpiece.

"Rinaldo."

Torquato Tasso left Padua to continue studies of philosophy and literature at Bologna. There he began to write the poem on the capture of Jerusalem by the Crusaders which had been resolved upon at Padua. At Bologna he was suspected of the authorship of satirical verses that attacked himself as well

"Goffredo."

as others. They amused him, and his goodwill to them caused his papers to be seized and searched. Nothing was found against him, but his annoyance caused him to leave Bologna for Modena, whence he was recalled to Padua by his kinsman and friend, Scipione Gonzaga, who was there founding an academy. Tasso was then zealous in study of Plato's philosophy, and he afterwards himself wrote Dialogues in Plato's manner. By the time that he was two-and-twenty Torquato Tasso was formally attached to the service of the great Italian house of Este, whose history he glorified in his "Jerusalem Delivered" (canto xvii. st. 66–94), as shown in the shield given to Rinaldo, Rinaldo being represented as himself of the Este family.

The Cardinal Luigi d'Este, brother of Alfonso II., invited the young poet to Ferrara, where he gave him the rank of noble as a Cavaliere of the Court. That was in 1565. In the next year there was the marriage of the Duke Alfonso II. with Barbara, daughter of the Emperor Ferdinand I., who had taken in 1555 the throne resigned by his brother Charles V. While the wedding festivities were afoot the Pope died—Pius IV., who had been a Cardinal de' Medici. The Cardinal Luigi d'Este went to Rome to take part in the election of another Pope, and Tasso, then twenty-two years old, stayed behind, much liked by the duke and his new duchess and by the duke's sisters, Lucrezia—who afterwards became Duchess of Urbino—and Leonora d'Este. Young as he was, Tasso had won for himself the first place among Italian poets, and he was the son of a poet who perhaps ranked first among the minor singers between Ariosto and Torquato Tasso. Young Tasso, with religious earnestness, keen sensibility, and grace of song, won easy welcome at a Court where literature was in high esteem. The Duke of Ferrara encouraged Tasso to go on with his epic. In September, 1569, the elder Tasso died in his son's arms. In his last years he had found

rest as chief secretary to the Duke of Mantua, and he was, at the end of his life, Governor of Ostiglia.

In 1571 Torquato Tasso went to Paris with his patron the Cardinal Luigi d'Este. There he established friendship with the poet Ronsard, twenty years his senior, and was presented to Charles IX. as "the poet of Godfrey and other French heroes who distinguished themselves at the siege of Jerusalem." He had then written eight or nine cantos of his poem, and his age was twenty-seven.

Upon his return Tasso was separated by religious opinions from the service of the Cardinal d'Este, but was easily received into the patronage of the duke, who gave him a yearly pension of 180 gold crowns, and required of him no personal service. In 1573 he produced at the ducal court in Ferrara his pastoral play of "Aminta," the fame of which spread beyond Italy, and confirmed the reputation won by his "Rinaldo." The lyric beauty of "Aminta" allied the literature of the day in Italy to the new development in Tasso's time of the art of music. Meanwhile, Tasso was steadily proceeding towards the close of his "Goffredo," and had completed eighteen cantos in 1574, when he was struck down by fever. There was nothing in Torquato Tasso's life before this fever to indicate that his keen nervous sensibility had passed the bounds of health and grown into disease. With difficulty recovering the threads of his argument, Tasso finished his poem—which he then called "Goffredo"—at the age of thirty. Our English Spenser, about nine years younger than Tasso, was then a graduate still studying at Cambridge.

"Aminta."

While the great poem was being finished, and the poet's health was weak, Alfonso II. increased his favours. He entertained Tasso as a guest in his villa at Belriguardo. The duke's sister, Lucrezia, gave him change of air with friendliest welcome in her Castle of Durante by Urbino. When

separated from her husband and returned to her brother, she would have had the poet always of her household. And the time was come when he could be much aided by the friendship of women, for the troubled mind was growing restless with vain fears that came and went.

At first he had much anxiety about the orthodoxy of his poem. It must be submitted to the Pope for strict examination. He must go to Rome, against the advice and wish of the duke and the ladies, who sought to detain him. Leave was unwillingly given, and he went to Rome, where his kinsman, Scipione Gonzaga, introduced him to that Cardinal de' Medici who afterwards became Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Cardinal invited Tasso to enter his service, and Tasso went so far towards acceptance of the invitation that he fretted himself with fear lest he might be regarded as a traitor at Ferrara. He went back, and was kindly received. But his distress of mind increased. He had been submitting his poem in manuscript to the criticism of friends, and paid minute attention to all the poor and positive suggestions made by men who were no poets for improvement of a poet's work. This would have worried a sane man, if a sane man could have brought such trouble on himself. Then he suspected, and thereby provoked, hostilities; he thought himself surrounded by enemies who plotted against him; he thought that the Inquisition would pronounce his poem to be heretical. This disease of mind raised active quarrels, by one of which Tasso made an enemy who set upon him in the market-place; but the poet was a good swordsman, and put his attacker to flight. At last, his tendency to such delusions caused Tasso, in the chamber of the Duchess of Urbino, to draw his dagger against a servant whom he suspected of design to poison him. For this he was placed under arrest for a few days in his own chamber, and the excess was forgiven. Then he fancied himself an unpardonable heretic. The duke introduced him to the

chief of the Inquisition at Ferrara, who, after making show of strict examination, satisfied the sick mind with a certificate of orthodoxy. But the need of direct ministration to a mind diseased had become so clear, that Tasso was placed for medical treatment in the Franciscan convent at Ferrara.

Suspecting the monks of a design to poison him, he escaped from them next day, leaving all his papers behind, and having very little money with him. In shepherd's disguise he went to his sister Cornelia, then become a widow. She had not seen him since their childhood. He feigned to her that he was a messenger from her brother, whose life was in danger from the enemies by whom he was beset. She fainted, and her emotion gave him faith in her. He stayed for some months under her care, then pleaded for leave to go back into the duke's service at Ferrara. He was received again in 1578, but was not satisfied. In calmer hours, with pen in hand, he still had the full use of his genius; but the sick fancies that had prompted once the drawing of a dagger, and the apparent impossibility of getting his assent to friendly care over his health, had so far altered his relations with his friends at Ferrara, that Tasso's next delusion was to look upon the duke as an enemy who did him wrong.

He broke away again, went to Mantua, wandered from place to place in North Italy, and found rest for a short time in Turin with Carlo Ingegneri, who was afterwards the first publisher of his yet unpublished poem. The archbishop and Duke Carlo Emanuel also received Tasso hospitably at Turin.

Next year he went suddenly back to Ferrara. The duke was occupied with preparations for his marriage to Margherita Gonzaga, his third wife. Tasso came to him full of the irritations of his sick mind, resented the neglect of his complaints, and his delusions turned them, as often happens

in such cases, with all their force against his friend. Especially this happens where, as in Tasso's case, the insane delusions spring up in a mind still capable of work along the lines within which the disease has not yet crept. Again and again the cruel malady is found in such cases to pervert some old love towards wife or friend. Who that has lived long has not known such cases? Tasso now poured out his wrath against the duke as his chief enemy, detailed imagined injuries, and as he was reputed in Italy to be as valiant with the sword as with the pen—*Colla penna a colla spada nessun val quanto Torquato* had been said of him—his insanity seemed dangerous to the duke, who at last used his authority to place him in a lunatic asylum—St. Anne's Hospital for lunatics—where he would be under absolute restraint. To all Italy it was a grief that her chief poet should be in a lunatic asylum. He was not denied the use of his pen, and was still able to make good use of it when following lines of thought that were not crossed by his delusions. Still he believed himself to be in the hands of poisoners; sometimes he thought himself to be under magic spells. He wrote appeals for his deliverance from bondage to Pope Gregory XIII., to Cardinal Albani, to the Grand Duke of Tuscany, to the Duchess of Urbino, to the Countess of Mantua, to the Emperor, and to the Inquisition. Intercession was made by his native town of Bergamo, that sent a deputation of its citizens. But the Duke of Ferrara remained firm in the belief that Tasso's insanity had made him dangerous. When, after seven years in the asylum, the poet was at last set free on the intercession of Vicenzo Gonzaga, Prince of Mantua, he was given into the care of Vicenzo Gonzaga upon his promise to keep such good watch that the Duke Alfonso should be in no danger from Tasso's insane passion against him.

There has been a sentimental fancy, much discussed, that has taken, no doubt, a firmer hold upon belief since the

greatest of the German poets founded upon it his play of "Torquato Tasso." It is that Tasso was shut up in the lunatic asylum because he had aspired to the hand of the duke's sister Leonora. There is no solid evidence whatever upon which this fancy rests. It was in March, 1579, that Tasso was placed in the asylum. Leonora died, after a long illness, in 1581, at the age of forty-three; but Tasso was not released from Santa Anna until 1586.

"Gerusalemme Liberata."

It was a real vexation to Tasso to learn in his confinement that his "Goffredo," as the poem was first called, had been badly misprinted at Venice. The revised edition of it, with its name changed to "Gerusalemme Liberata," was published at Parma in 1581, and there were not fewer than six editions of it in that year.

Tasso's influence on Spenser was that of one great writer on another. But in France there was in these days a poet of less mark, now left almost unread, to whom accident gave for a time in England greater influence than Tasso.

Du Bartas.

In 1579 there appeared in France a poem called "La Sepmaine, ou Création du Monde," by Guillaume de Saluste du Bartas, a French Huguenot noble, who was born in the same year as Tasso, and was educated as a soldier. In 1574 he had devoted his pen to the heavenly Muse in a poem on "Urania," published in that year, and another poem on "Judith." His religious poem on the "Divine Week of the Creation" abounded in those overstrained conceits which the example of Italy had introduced into the polite language of surrounding countries. Partly for this reason, but more for its religious spirit, "La Sepmaine" (Semaine) became so famous that it went through thirty editions in six years, and was translated into Latin, Italian, German, and English—generally more than once into each language. The name of "Saluste

of France" became coupled with that of "Tuscan Arioste," and remained great until the passing away of the form of taste it satisfied. But we shall find in the days of his currency an English minor poet seeking immortality as the translator of Du Bartas.

When Ronsard died, in December, 1585, the most successful of French poets was Philippe des Portes, then about forty years old, who wrote love verses and pleased the idle minds at Court with ease and grace. He put aside the overweight of Greek and Latin that, through the influence of Ronsard, had burdened poetry in France. He felt, as poet, the influence of Italy, and profited much by the satisfaction he gave to the King of France and to his courtiers, who called him their Tibullus. Henri III. gave him thirty thousand livres for publishing his first works. The king's brother gave him eight hundred gold dollars for his "Rodomont," and the king's brother-in-law, Admiral de Joyeuse, gave him an abbey for a sonnet. Thus he obtained an income of ten thousand dollars a year in benefices, though he refused several bishoprics, and even the Archbishopric of Bordeaux. For he had some part of a conscience, and in later years was a translator of the Psalms.

Du Bartas and D'Aubigné, both of them Huguenots, represented the religious mind of France in protest against all subjection of the poet's genius to the follies and the vices of the rich. Du Bartas sang, therefore, to the glory of God, and as he avoided controversial theology in drawing his themes from the Bible story, his verse was read by the religious of both parties. Du Bartas, being in earnest, rises sometimes from his cloud of erudition that joined outlines of astronomy and mathematics to the story of Creation, and has moments of a real poetic fervour. He died in 1590, at the age of forty-six. Henry of Navarre employed him upon work in aid of the Huguenot struggle, and sent him on embassies to Denmark, and to England, and to

Scotland. Almost his last poem was on the victory at Ivry, in the year before his death.

The "Divine Week" of Du Bartas was followed by a "Second Week" ("Seconde Sepmaine") in 1584. This divided into seven periods, poetically called days, the religious history of man, expressed in the successive histories of Adam, Noah, Abraham, David, Zedekiah, the Messiah, and, for seventh "day," the Eternal Sabbath. Du Bartas only lived to complete four of the seven sections of this work, but he wrote also many other moral and religious poems. He also repaid the royal compliment of a translation of "L'Uranie" by translating into French, as "La Lepanthe," the poem on the battle of Lepanto which King James of Scotland wrote soon after publishing his "Essayes of an Apprentise." This appeared with a preface of the translator to the author, wherein James was honoured with the name of a Scotch Phœnix, and the divine Du Bartas himself declared that he could not soar with him—could only stand on earth to see him in the clouds. Du Bartas wished he had only so much of James as to be but the shadow of his shape, the echo of his voice—

Du Bartas and James VI. of Scotland.

> "Hé! fusse ie vrayment, O Phœnix Escossois,
> Ou l'ombre de ton corps, ou l'écho de ta voix!"

Meanwhile, Buchanan and others had been doing their best for the education of young James VI. He was a clumsy boy, with ungainliness produced by physical defect, a tongue too large for his mouth, and a mind in which all depths that there could ever be must be sunk artificially. Good workmen dug and shaped; the boy was good-tempered, picked up some shrewdness, lived a creditable life, had respect for knowledge, and good appetite for it, though bad digestion. He had a pleasant type of it before him in cheery, impressible George

The Young King James.

Buchanan; a Presbyterian, austere but half-way through, with a face like a Scotch Socrates, although more apt than Socrates to take offence, familiar with Latin as with his native tongue, full of anecdote and good talk, familiar also with languages and people round about, and liking Scotland all the better for experience in other lands. But for James the horizon did not widen as he climbed the hill of knowledge, his heart did not swell as he rose to higher sense of harmony and beauty; he hammered at the stones about him, and was proud of being so far up. In 1585, when his age was but nineteen, he published at Edinburgh "The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Art of Poesie." In preliminary sonnets of compliment, the Muses, through various courtly representations, sought to

> "Tell how he doth in tender yearis essay
> Above his age with skill our arts to blaise,
> Tell how he doeth with gratitude repay
> The crowne he won for his deservéd praise.
> Tell how of Jove, of Mars, but more of God
> The glorie and grace he hath proclaimed abrod."

The "Essayes" opened with twelve sonnets of invocation to the gods—namely, Jove, Apollo, each of the four Seasons, Neptune, Tritons and their kind, Pluto, Mars, Mercury, and finally, for the twelfth sonnet—

> "In short, you all fore naméd gods I pray
> For to concur with one accord and will
> That all my works may perfyte be alway:
> Which if ye doe, then swear I for to fill
> My works immortall with your praises still:
> I shall your names eternall ever sing,
> I shall tread downe the grass on Parnass hill
> By making with your names the world to ring:
> I shall your names from all oblivion bring;
> I lofty Virgill shall to life restoirr."

Buchanan was for three years dead, and there were few left who would tell a young king that his works were not

"perfyte alway." Then followed a translation of "L'Uranie," or "The Heavenly Muse," from Du Bartas, original and translation printed upon opposite pages, with a modest preface in admiration of "the devine and illuster poete, Salust du Bartas," by the "oft reading and perusing" of whom James was moved "with a restless and lofty desire to preas to attaine to the like virtue." To the level of Du Bartas he could not at all aspire in his own verse; let him, he said, follow imperfectly as a translator. This represented only the common admiration of his time which Du Bartas enjoyed. In a copy of "Quintilian," annotated by Gabriel Harvey when the "Sepmaine" of Du Bartas was a new book, Harvey wrote in the margin, beside a mention of Euripides, "Euripides, wisest of poets: except now at length the divine Bartas." After his version of one of the shorter poems of Du Bartas, King James gave for his next essay a dim allegory, smoothly versified, in Chaucer's stanza, "Ane Metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie called Phœnix." It had a preface of eighteen bad lines, arranged first as shaped verse in the form of a lozenge on a little pedestal, then a compound acrostic. Then followed a small piece of translation out of the fifth book of Lucan; and then, lastly, "Ane Schort Treatise, containing some Reulis and Cautelis to be observit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie."

Montaigne's Essays.

As we draw near to the date of the first English essays, we may note now by the way that Michel de Montaigne, who had been one of George Buchanan's students at Bordeaux, produced the first edition of his Essays in 1580. There was a second edition in 1588. This first of the great essayists had learnt Latin as mother-tongue, had seen much of the world in his youth, and he died in 1592, aged fifty-nine, after much enjoyment, and half-philosophical, half-gossiping discussion of life through essays that weigh human nature as he found it in the man whom he knew best, and so give us the most

frank and exhaustive study of himself that anyone has ever given to the world.

In 1579, when Shakespeare was fifteen years old, and Francis Bacon was nineteen, Sir Thomas North published his translation of "Plutarch's Lives." This was not from the original Greek, but from the delightful Plutarch in thirteen volumes (six for the Lives and seven for the Morals) published in and after 1567 by Jacques Amyot, who was in those days the prince of French translators. Amyot lived to within a year of fourscore, and died in 1593. Sir Thomas North was himself an active member of the English band of translators produced by the revival of letters. Among his other translations was, in 1570, one from the Italian version of a famous Arabian fable book * called "Calilah i Dumnah," as "The Morale Philosophie of Doni." But he is here named because it was chiefly in North's Plutarch, published in 1579, that Shakespeare, as a playwright, learnt his history of Rome.

North's Plutarch.

The first attempt at a translation of Homer into English Alexandrine verse was begun in 1563, and published in 1581. This appeared in "Ten Books of Homer's Iliades." It was not translated from the Greek direct, but chiefly through the French version of Hugues Salel, by Arthur Hall, of Grantham, a member of Parliament. The fact that this is the first Englishing of Homer gives the book importance.

Arthur Hall's Ten Books of the "Iliad."

In the same year, 1581, Richard Mulcaster, Spenser's schoolmaster, published an important treatise upon education, setting forth, as its title said, "Positions wherein those primitive Circumstances be examined which are necessarie for the Training vp of Children, either for Skil in their Booke, or Health in their Bodie." Here, after showing why he wrote in English, not in Latin, Mulcaster dealt with the first principles of teaching;

Richard Mulcaster.

* "E. W." iii. 368; iv. 226.

reasoned against the misuse of authority; discussed the time when a child should begin to learn; what it should learn before it passed to grammar; the training of natural abilities; the exercising of the body, and that best under the same master who is trainer of the mind. He reasons how to choose wits aptest to be put to learning, and that young maidens as well as boys ought to be put to learn. He enters then into detail upon the training of young gentlemen, and advises that there should be training schools for teachers.

Richard Mulcaster, of an old Cumberland family, was born in the city of Carlisle, and educated at Eton under Udall, and at King's College, Cambridge. He left Cambridge after obtaining his B.A. degree, went to Oxford in 1556, was elected scholar of Christchurch, and graduated as M.A. at the close of the same year. He was distinguished, not only as a classical scholar, but for his knowledge of Oriental literature. On the twenty-fourth of September, 1561, Richard Mulcaster was appointed first Master of Merchant Taylors' School, then founded, and he held that office for thirty-five years. He paid unusual attention to the training of his boys in English scholarship. As part of that training they were practised in the acting of English plays, which were sometimes presented for the entertainment of the queen. Spenser must have benefited by Mulcaster's attention to English, and may have been among the boys who took parts in the play-acting. In 1582 Mulcaster published "The First Part of the Elementarie which entreateth chieflie of the right Writing of the English Tongue." Why, asks the schoolmaster, who shares the rising sense of nationality among the English people, why should we teach children through a language not their own?—

Study of English.

"Is it not a marvellous bondage to become servants to one tongue for learning's sake, the most part of our time, with loss of most time, whereas we may have the very same treasure in our own tongue with

the gain of most time; our own bearing the joyful title of our liberty and freedom, the Latin tongue remembering us of our thraldom and bondage. I love Rome, but London better; I favour Italy, but England more; I honour the Latin, but I worship the English. . . . If we must cleave to the eldest and not the best, we should be eating acorns and wearing old Adam's pelts. But why not all in English? I do not think that any language, be it whatsoever, is better able to utter all arguments either with more pith or greater plainness than our English tongue is."

Fit schoolmaster for Spenser! In April, 1594, Mulcaster was collated to the prebendal stall of Gatesbury in Salisbury Cathedral. In 1596 he resigned his post in Merchant Taylors' School, and was High Master of St. Paul's School for the next twelve years. He died in 1611.

A more famous schoolmaster, who also expressed the rising sense of nationality, was William Camden. Camden was born in the Old Bailey, in the City of London, on the second of May, 1551, and differed, therefore, but a year or two in age from Sidney, Spenser, Raleigh. Camden's father came from Lichfield, and was working in London as a painter. His mother was of a Cumberland family. William Camden, when a boy of twelve, was nearly killed by the Plague. Upon his recovery he was sent to St. Paul's School, and there he distinguished himself as a scholar. He was sent in 1566 to Oxford, and placed under the care of Thomas Cooper, born the son of a poor tailor in Cut Street, Oxford, who lived to be a bishop, and with whom we shall meet again. Cooper had obtained a fellowship at Magdalen College, and had taught in the adjoining school, when Camden was placed under him. Then William Camden, through the good offices of Dr. Thomas Thornton, entered Broadgate Hall, called afterwards Pembroke College, and there he established friendship with Richard and George Carew, who shared his taste for the study of British antiquities. After three years Dr. Thornton became a canon of Christchurch, and took

William Camden.

with him Camden, who at Christchurch had Philip Sidney for a friend and fellow-student.

Camden supplicated for his B.A. degree in June, 1570, and again in March, 1573, when he was admitted, but he seems not to have completed by determination. In 1588, however, when he applied for his M.A., Camden said that he had spent sixteen years in study since he had taken the degree of Bachelor. But his supplication was then granted on conditions that he had not leisure to fulfil, and he was not allowed the degree of Master of Arts till 1613, when, on the occasion of a visit of his to Oxford, it was offered to him and declined by him as then useless.

In 1571, at the age of twenty, Camden left Oxford, and for the next four or five years his zeal for the study of antiquities caused him to travel about, like Leland, and see with his own eyes a large part of England. He said afterwards of himself that even as a schoolboy he could not see anything old without paying particular attention to it. At Oxford he had given all his spare time to such studies of his choice, and when he was made schoolmaster, all his holidays were spent in visiting old camps and castles. Camden was helped, in his poverty, with books and money by two friendly doctors of divinity, Gabriel and his nephew Godfrey Goodman. Dr. Gabriel Goodman, who had been chaplain to Sir William Cecil, and remained his intimate friend, while holding much other preferment became Dean of Westminster in April, 1561. It was through Dean Goodman's influence that William Camden was appointed, in 1575, second master of Westminster School. The head master was Edward Grant, who had been appointed three years earlier after two years' service as assistant. Grant was known as a good Latin poet, and wrote occasional verses in Greek, Latin, and English. In 1575 he published a Greek grammar for the use of Westminster School, which Camden used afterwards, as Grant's successor, in a popular abridg-

ment of his own, "Institutio Græcæ Grammatices," first published in 1597. Edward Grant was a friend of Roger Ascham's, and in 1576 published a collection of Ascham's Latin letters, with a Latin oration of his own on Ascham's life and death, all dedicated to the queen. Grant held the office of head master at Westminster School for twenty years with Camden next in authority, and when he resigned Camden succeeded to his office, in February, 1593. Dr. Grant then retired to his rectory of East Barnet, and died in 1601, having in the interval been presented by Queen Elizabeth to the rectory of Toppesfield, in Essex.

When William Camden was made second master of Westminster School he was becoming known more and more widely for his diligent research into local details of the past history of England. In 1577, Abraham Ortelius, the great geographer, who was called the Ptolemy of his time, then a man of fifty, came to England from his home at Antwerp, where he was born, and, struck by Camden's genius that way, urged him to work systematically with a view to the production of an antiquarian topography of Britain, his "Britannia." In 1578 Camden spent a holiday in Norfolk and Suffolk for exploration of the country of the Iceni. In 1581, when the eloquent and learned Barnabé Brisson, high in favour with Henri III., came on a mission to England, he chose William Camden for a special friend.

Camden's "Britannia."

Camden's work, in drawing from the study of topography a necessary light on history, was, for an Englishman and for the early history of England, specially laborious. Research of this kind first became active in Italy, where aids abounded in old Latin histories and in the obvious significance of names. Of Britain the ancient records were fewer, and less easy of access. Camden's first search was for manuscripts of the Itinerary of the Roman Empire by the old geographer Antoninus Augustus, which may have been composed about

the year 320; also for the survey of the world as known in the second century by the geographer Claudius Ptolemæus, which included a description of the coasts of Britain and the names of native British tribes; and for the account of Britain contained in the *Notitia utriusque Imperii*, which was compiled near the time when the Roman occupation closed. As Camden proceeded with his study, he found that, for the right interpretation of local names to guide him in research, he must know something of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon. Full use had to be made, also, of our own early historians. When he heard from foreign correspondents of Itinerary tables marking the routes of Roman armies towards the close of the fourth century—tables that had been given by Conrad Celtes to the learned jurisconsult Conrad Peutinger, of Augsburg, who died in 1547—Camden took pains also to procure copies of them so far as they concerned Britain. This Itinerary became known as "Peutinger's Table" after it had been printed at Venice by the Italian-bred Mark Welser (Velser), of Augsburg, in 1591.

The first edition of Camden's "Britannia," written in Latin, was published in 1586, with a dedication to Lord Burghley dated on the second of May, the birthday on which Camden came to mid-life by completion of his thirty-fifth year. The success of the book was very great. In London it reached a third edition, enlarged with much new matter, in 1590, while another edition was in the same year printed at Frankfort. Among the recommendatory verses in Greek and Latin that preceded Camden's "Britannia" were some cordial Latin lines by Dr. Edward Grant, his chief at Westminster. Grant prophesied his comrade's future fame.

Camden's "Britannia," after showing the place in the ocean and the general form of this happiest of lands—"nor less happy now under Elizabeth"—treats of its first inhabitants, its name of Britain, the Romans in Britain, Armorican or Celtic Britain, the Picts, the Scots, the Anglo-Saxons,

Danes, and Normans. Then Camden tells of the various subdivisions of the land, of the orders of rank among its people from the sovereign to the poor day-labourer, and of its tribunals. After this he proceeds—associating tribes of the past with description of the shires that occupy the ground they once inhabited—to describe the several parts of Britain in this order. First the country of the old Damnonii, Cornwall and Devon; then, in succession, the Durotriges (Dorset); the Belgæ (Somerset, Wilts, Hants); the Attrebatii (Berks); the Regni (Surrey, Sussex); Cantium (Kent); the Dobuni (Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire); the Cattieuchlani (Buckinghamshire, Beds, and Herts); the Trinobantes (Middlesex and Essex); the Iceni (Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Huntingdonshire); the Coritani (Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Rutland, Lincolnshire, Notts, and Derbyshire); Cornavii (the shires of Warwick, Worcester and Stafford, Shropshire, Cheshire); the Silures (Herefordshire, Radnorshire, Brecknockshire, Monmouthshire, Glamorganshire); the Dimetæ (shires of Carmarthen, Pembroke, and Cardigan); the Ordovices (shires of Montgomery, Merioneth, Caernarvon, Denbigh, and Flint); the Brigantes (Yorkshire, Richmondshire, the Bishopric of Durham, Lancashire, Westmorland, Cumberland); followed by an account of the Picts' Wall. Then come the Ottadini (Northumberland), and there follows next a short description of Scotland. After this comes an account, with a separate title-page, of Ireland and the isles adjacent to Britain. So Camden traversed all the land, associating a description of his country as it was in his own time with many memories attested by the ruins that remained, and the material witnesses that had been dug out of the soil.

In 1586, when the first edition of his "Britannia" appeared, William Camden had among the boys under him at Westminster School one named Ben Jonson, who was about thirteen years old, and for whom Camden himself had

obtained admission, because he knew the boy and had good hope of him. Shakespeare, in 1586, was twenty-two years old, and, as before said, we may take this year, or 1587, for the year of his first turning to the stage.

England was never dearer to her sons than in these days when she was drawing to the front place in the story of the world. In the same year, 1586, William Warner, born in London in the year of Elizabeth's accession, a poetical attorney, celebrated "Albion's England" in thirteen books of fourteen-syllabled rhyming verse. His poem was of Albion's England, because it did not, like Albion, include Scotland. It was an easy, lively, homely history of England, from the Deluge down to Warner's own time, with a religious close; homely in use of simple idiomatic English, full of incidents and stories, often rudely told, and often with a force or delicacy of touch that came of the terse directness with which natural feeling was expressed. Warner's poem had for a time great popularity. He was not a great poet, but the times were stirring, and they drew ten thousand lines of lively verse upon his country, even out of an attorney.

William Warner.

"Albion's England."

In the eleventh and twelfth books of "Albion's England" William Warner interwove an imaginary love story of Sir John Mandeville, the traveller, and a Lady Eleanor, cousin to King Edward III., with verse describing some of the bold voyagings under Elizabeth to Muscovy and other distant lands. When his Mandeville has set out on his travels, after receiving from fair Eleanor a riddle and a ring, sings Warner—

"Now let us say the Lands, the Seas, the people, and their Lore
The Knight did see, whom, touching which, not storie shall we more:
But to our English Voyages, euen in our times, let's frame
Our Muse, and what you hear of those of his the like doe aim:

Yet interlace we shall among, the love of her and him:
Meanwhile about the world our Muse is stripped now to swim."

But, above all, it was an old Westminster boy, a clergyman, who "stripped to swim" to all the shores that had been touched by English adventurers. Hakluyt laboured to gather their most fruitful stories from their pens or lips, contenting their countrymen with tales from over sea, and shaping for all time a record to which Englishmen might look back with thanks to God for their forefathers and the high example they had left. Richard Hakluyt was born at Eyton, Herefordshire, in 1553. He was educated at Westminster School and Christchurch, Oxford, and delighted always in tales of far countries and adventure by sea. At school and at college his chief interest was in the history of discovery. He fastened upon all printed or written accounts of discovery that he could find, whether, as he said, "in Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, Portugal, French, or English languages." Hakluyt took his B.A. in 1574, his M.A. in January, 1577, entered the Church, went to Paris in 1584 as chaplain to the English ambassador, and was made Prebendary of Bristol. In 1582, when he was twenty-nine years old, he issued his first publication, "Divers Voyages Touching the Discoverie of America, and the Lands adjacent unto the same, made first of all by our Englishmen, and afterward by the Frenchmen and Bretons: and certain Notes of Advertisements for Observations, necessarie for such as shall hereafter make the like attempt." In Paris he wrote, in 1584, "A particular Discourse concerning Western Discoveries," which remained unprinted until it was published in 1877 by the Maine Historical Society. Hakluyt also translated books of travel from the Spanish, but his great work was that of which the forerunner first appeared in folio in 1589, "The Principall Navigations, Voiages, and Discoveries of the English Nation made by

Richard Hakluyt.

Sea or over land to the most remote and farthest distant quarters of the earth at any time within the compass of these 1500 years." This folio, dedicated to Sir Francis Walsingham, was expanded into the three volumes published in the years 1598–1600, which formed afterwards the great edition of Hakluyt's voyages.

But the eyes of many Puritans were not so much upon the glories of England as upon the Church that was to be more widely parted from all sympathy with Rome, upon the social life that was to be parted from its vices and its follies. Philip Stubbes was a Puritan gentleman of St. Mary-at-Hill, London, in September, 1586, the month of his marriage with Katherine Emmes of the same parish. His young wife died after childbirth in December, 1590, and Stubbes in the next year published "A Christall glasse for christian women Conteyning an excellent discourse of the godly life and christian death of mistres Katherine Stubbes." Philip Stubbes published some other Puritan pamphlets, including "The Rosary of Christian Prayers," in 1583; but his main work, published in 1583—the First Part licensed on the first of March, the Second Part on the seventh of November—was "The Anatomie of Abuses: conteyning a Discoverie or Briefe Summarie of such Notable Vices and Imperfections as now raigne in many Christian Countreyes of the World: but especialie in a very famous Ilande called Ailgna: Together with most fearful Examples of God's Judgementes executed vpon the wicked for the same as well in Ailgna of late, as in other places elsewhere." Ailgna, of course, is Anglia. The book is in dialogue between Philoponus and Spudeus. Ailgna, says Stubbes, is a famous and pleasant land, with a great and heroic people, but they abound in abuses, chiefly those of pride—pride of heart, of mouth, of apparel. In pride of apparel they pane, cut, and drape out with costly ornaments the richest material, and

Philip Stubbes.

spread out ruffs with supportasses—wires covered with gold or silk—and starch. Philip Stubbes denounced starch as "the devil's liquor," and told of a fair gentlewoman of Eprautna (Antwerp) upon whom a judgment had fallen for her vanity in starched ruffs, even so lately as the twenty-second of May, 1582. She was dressing to attend a wedding, and falling in a passion with the starching of her ruffs, said what caused a handsome gentleman to come into the room, who set them up for her to perfection, charmed her, and strangled her. When she was being taken out for burial, the coffin was so heavy that four strong men could not lift it. It was opened. The body was gone, but a lean and deformed black cat was sitting in the coffin, "a setting of great ruffs and frizzling of hair, to the great fear and wonder of all the beholders."

CHAPTER VI.

COURT PLAYS: JOHN LYLY AND GEORGE PEELE.

JOHN LYLY, after the publication of his "Euphues in England," was an entertainer of the Court with comedies gracefully built on mythological subjects, and distinguished by the fact that all of them, except the first, were written in prose. Though their wit was laboured, it was true wit from one who had a poet's mind, and who might have written—as the smooth blank verse of his first play and occasional songs in other plays of his show—very good verse if he had cared to do so. Notwithstanding any strain of wit that place and time required of him, and the predominance of fancy over fact in the material of which he wove his stories, Lyly had also a dramatic sense of dialogue, and his Court plays must have satisfied the minds as well as ears of courtiers to whose aste they were adapted. Lyly's "Campaspe" was, perhaps, acted at Court in the end of the year 1581, and it had been preceded by "The Woman in the Moon," of which the prologue says—

John Lyly's Comedies.

> "Remember all is but a poet's dream,
> The first he had in Phœbus' holy bower,
> But not the last, unless the first displease."

This play, therefore, Lyly may have written in 1580, if not

earlier, though it was not published until 1597, as "The Woman in the Moone. As it was presented before her Highnesse. By John Lyllie, Maister of Artes. Imprinted at London for William Jones, and are to be sold at the signe of the Gun, neere Holburn Conduict." "The Woman in the Moon."

"*The Woman in the Moon*"

is a new form of old jest upon the mutability of woman. Before the scene of a pictured firmament, with orbits of the seven planets, and the workshop of Nature with a curtain drawn before it, Nature descends to an ideal land—a Utopia where, as she says,

> "Where my chief works do flourish in their prime
> And wanton in their first simplicity."

Concord and Discord wait on her,

> "For Nature works her will from contraries."

The shepherds of Utopia, clad in skins, have not yet been furnished with a female for their mate, like other creatures in earth, air, and sea. They petition Nature, and the curtain being drawn from before Nature's shop, discloses various images. Among them is the clothed and, at present, lifeless image of a Woman. Nature breathes into it the fire from heaven, shapes humours of the body from the elements, and the embrace of Concord joins the spirit with the flesh. The fair body,

> "Nature's glory and delight,
> Compact of every heavenly excellence,"

is endowed with the best qualities of all the planets, and is called Pandora, because there have been lavished on her all high gifts.

Then the Seven Planets meet and complain of the Woman's usurpation of their powers. They resolve to spite Nature by taking it in turn

> "to show our emperie
> And bend our forces gainst this earthly star."

My turn is first, says Saturn. He marks his term of ascendancy by

mounting a throne upon the stage. Saturn instils a melancholy mood, clouds the new creature with sullen sorrows, makes her

> "sick with passions of the heart,
> Self willed and tongue tied, but full fraught with tears."

Nature provides Pandora with a servant, Gunophilus. But he comes to her when Saturn is in the ascendant and she plays the vixen with everything about her. The simple shepherds come also to their new delight when she is under the influence of Saturn. One offers to kiss her hand—she hits him on the lips. After like dealing with the rest, she runs away, and at the end of the First Act Saturn descends from the throne well satisfied: "My turn is past, and Jupiter the next."

In the Second Act Jupiter rules. He fills Pandora with ambition and disdain. She shows her pride to Jupiter himself, asks for and gets his sceptre, but throws it to Juno when the injured queen of heaven comes to look after her husband. Jupiter disappears behind a cloud. It comes before the throne, in which he sits still dominant. The shepherds again sue to Pandora, who is now imperious. She sends them to cut off the head of a wild boar, promising her glove to him who brings it.

Mars enters to send Jupiter to Juno. Mars taking the throne when Jupiter leaves it, Pandora next becomes "a vixen martialist." The shepherds bring in the boar's head, and fight over the argument of separate right to the glove, where all had part in conquest of the boar. Pandora finds them fighting, snatches a spear out of the hands of one of them, and lays about her. Mars leaves the throne content at the end of the Second Act: "Let Sol cool that which I have set on fire."

At the opening of the Third Act Sol takes his seat upon the throne, and the woman now, following his disposition, is to become

> "gentle and kind,
> Abandoning all rancour, pride, and rage,
> And changing from a lion to a lamb.
> She shall be loving, liberal and chaste,
> Discreet and patient, merciful and mild,
> Inspired with poetry and prophesy,
> And virtues appertaining womanhood."

Pandora now is full of considerate kindness to her man Gunophilus and to the four shepherds. With great courtesy to the other three, she makes her choice of one, Stesias, for husband, and prophesies to him in

ambiguous lines of Latin which can be read equally well backwards and forwards.

Venus then comes to take her turn of ascendancy—

> "Phœbus away, thou mak'st her too precise.
> I'll have her witty, quick and amorous,
> Delight in revels and in banqueting,
> Wanton discourse, music and merry songs."

Venus ascends the throne, sends light-foot Joculus to put Pandora in a dancing vein, while Cupid shoots. Under this planet's influence the Woman plays the wanton.

The Fourth Act begins with the coming of Mercury to take his turn on the throne, from which Venus now descends.

Now, he says,

> "Now is Pandora in my regiment,
> And I will make her false and full of sleights,
> Thievish and lying, subtle, eloquent,
> For these alone belong to Mercury."

Accordingly she covers now her wantonness with tricks and frauds that bring, at the right place, the action of the play into a wild entanglement.

In the Fifth Act it is Luna who becomes the source of planetary influence—

> "And as I am, so shall Pandora be,
> Newfangled, fickle, slothful, foolish, mad."

She runs mad very prettily. Stesias learns how he has been cheated, and grows fiercely desperate. The Seven Planets then unite in pleading to him for Pandora, whom they restore to her right mind. He will have none of her. She is rejected by the other shepherds. Then Nature appears again. Gunophilus, who has not served as Nature willed, is made to vanish into a hawthorn. Pandora, since the shepherds have abjured her love, shall now be placed in one of the orbs of the Seven Planets. Each Planet is eager for her—

> "*Saturn.* O Nature, place Pandora in my sphere!
> For I am old, and she will make me young.
> *Jupiter.* With me! and I will leave the Queen of Heaven.
> *Mars.* With me! and Venus shall no more be mine.
> *Sol.* With me! and I'll forget fair Daphne's love.

Venus. With me! and I'll turn Cupid out of doors.
Mercury. With me! and I'll forsake Aglauros' love.
Luna. No, fair Pandora, stay with Cynthia,
And I will love thee more than all the rest:
Rule thou my star while I stay in the woods
Or keep with Pluto in the infernal shades."

Pandora, free to choose, accepts the sole sway yielded to her in the Moon—

"Fair Nature, let thy handmaid dwell with her,
For know that change is my felicity,
And fickleness Pandora's proper form."

Stesias is compelled by Nature to follow her and be her slave—

"*Stesias.* Then to revenge me of Gunophilus,
I'll rend this hawthorn with my furious hands
And bear this bush. If e'er she look but back
I'll scratch her face that was so false to me.
Nature. Now rule, Pandora, in fair Cynthia's stead,
And make the moon inconstant like thyself:
Reign thou at women's nuptials, and their birth;
Let them be mutable in all their loves,
Fantastical and childish,
Foolish in their desires, demanding toys,
And stark mad when they cannot have their will."

In Elizabeth's time some women of high rank were, like the queen herself, as fully educated as the men; but women generally received slender training of those faculties by which the judgment is developed and sustained. Arrested growth of mind kept many women childish, "foolish in their desires, demanding toys," when they had reached bodily maturity. That was not fault of Nature.

Lyly's "Woman in the Moon" is, perhaps, the earliest example of comedy written in blank verse instead of rhyme. It is not euphuistic; earlier euphuism applied to prose, not verse. After this, Lyly wrote all his comedies in euphuistic prose, beginning with "Campaspe."

"Campaspe" was a play upon the self-restraint of the

great conqueror, Alexander, who, pausing for a short time from war after destroying Thebes, because he was enamoured of a fair prisoner from Thebes, caused her—Campaspe—to be painted by Apelles. But Apelles and Campaspe then became entangled in love to each other, whereupon Alexander easily threw off his own soft mood, magnanimously left them to themselves, and resumed his battling for the conquest of the world. The play sets forth much dainty discourse of love, with pithy dialogues of wit and wisdom between philosophers whom Alexander gathered round him in the time of peace —Plato, Aristotle, Diogenes, and five more—also between the sharp-witted servants of Plato, Diogenes, and Apelles. They talk at large. Their dialogues fill nearly half the play with words and incidents that are sufficiently diverting, but contribute nothing to the shaping of the plot. The difference between Lyly's prose and his verse is well shown, at the close of the third act, by the song of Apelles, which follows meditation ending thus— "Campaspe."

"As they that are shaken with a fever are to be warmed with clothes not groans, and as he that melteth in a consumption is to be rescued by colices not conceits: so the feeding canker of my care, the never dying worm of my heart, is to be killed by counsel, not cries; by applying of remedies, not by replying of reasons. And sith in cases desperate there must be used medicines that are extreme, I will hazard that little life that is left, to restore the greater part that is lost. And this shall be my first practise: for wit must work where authority is not. As soon as Alexander hath viewed this portraiture, I will by device give it a blemish, that by that means she may come again to my shop; and then as good it were to utter my love and die with denial, as conceal it and live in despair."

Song by Apelles.

"Cupid and my Campaspe played
At cards for kisses, Cupid paid;
He stakes his quiver, bow, and arrows,
His mother's doves and team of sparrows;

Loses them too ; then down he throws
The coral of his lip, the rose
Growing on's cheek, but none knows how,
With these, the crystal of his brow,
And then the dimple of his chin ;
All these did my Campaspe win.
At last, he set her both his eyes ;
She won, and Cupid blind did rise.
O Love ! has she done this to thee,
What shall, alas, become of me ! "

"Campaspe" was soon followed at Court by Lyly's "Sapho and Phao," and the two plays were afterwards printed by Thomas Cadman in the same year, 1584.

"Sapho and Phao."

Venus, crossing in the ferry to Syracuse, endows the young ferryman, Phao, with rare beauty. The ladies of the Court of Sapho, Queen of Syracuse, become enamoured of him. He, with an oar in one hand and a mirror in the other, perplexed by the sudden gift of beauty, goes for counsel to Sibylla, who is a woman of experience. In her day of youth and beauty Phœbus was enamoured of Sibylla. She promised to listen to Phœbus if he would give her years as many as there were grains in a handful of sand. He gave her the years, and yet she did not listen. Now she lives in a cave, where she must remain pensive for six hundred years. Naturally she has thought out many things, and she freely bestows counsel upon Phao—

"Make not too much of fading beauty, which is fair in the cradle and foul in the grave, resembling Polyon, whose leaves are white in the morning and blue before night ; or Anyta, which being a sweet flower at the rising of the sun, becometh a weed if it be not plucked before the setting. . . . Be not coy when you are courted ; Fortune's wings are made of Time's feathers, which stay not whilst one may measure them. Be affable and courteous in youth, that you may be honoured in age. Roses that lose their colours, keep their savours, and plucked from the stalk are put to the still. Cotonea because it boweth

when the sun riseth, is sweetest when it is oldest: and children which in their tender years sow courtesy, shall in their declining age reap pity."

Phao becomes enamoured of Queen Sapho, and, applying again for counsel to Sybilla, is supplied with liberal instruction on the mysteries of courtship. Then Sapho falls sick for the love of Phao; but Venus also falls in love with the young boatman, and is Sapho's rival. Cupid counsels his mother to ask Vulcan for new arrows. She does so, and gets shafts differing in power: one makes men jealous; one turns doting to contempt; one makes men passionate and constant; one will cause Phao to hate Venus; one will make him love her; and Cupid is bidden by his mother to take care that he shoot that into Phao's breast. Cupid strikes Sapho with disdain of Phao, and strikes Phao with disdain of Venus. Then Cupid changes mothers, and lies in the lap of Sapho, who keeps him and his arrows as her own, despite the wrath of Venus. It is now Sapho who will rule the course of love. She wishes Phao well, but shuts the door on him. Phao again visits Sybilla, who encourages his last resolve that he will leave Syracuse, and "wherever I wander to be as I were ever kneeling before Sapho; my loyalty unspotted though unrewarded."

Interwoven with this play are humours of dialogue between two young men, a courtier and a scholar, and between their servants. Sapho, of course, is not painted without an occasional glance at Elizabeth, who is implied in the first description of the Queen of Syracuse, as "fair by nature, by birth royal, learned by education, by government politic, rich by peace: insomuch as it is hard to judge whether she be more beautiful or wise, virtuous or fortunate." The courtiers, meanwhile, might place in Raleigh's hand, or whose they would, the oar of Phao.

Lyly's "Endymion" was produced at Court in some year

between the date of the production of "Sapho and Phao"—at latest 1584—and the year 1591, when William Broome printed a second edition of "Sapho and Phao." "Endymion" was printed in that year by I. Charlewood for Broome's widow. A critic who had a gift for reading poetry into prose was not content with finding in this play obvious flatteries of Queen Elizabeth associated with the praise of Cynthia, and noting a few surface allusions that may be now lightly and doubtfully suspected or observed; he found Endymion in the Earl of Leicester, his forty years' sleep in the Earl's short imprisonment at Greenwich after his secret marriage in May, 1573, with Douglas Sheffield, wife of John Lord Sheffield and daughter of William first Lord Howard of Effingham. But that detention was in August, 1579, when the queen heard of Leicester's marriage to Lettice Knollys, Countess of Essex, and she soon recovered from her anger. Eumenides is read into the Earl of Sussex, and the marriage of Tellus to Corsites is said to have been the marriage of the Countess of Sheffield to Sir Edward Stafford. This way of hobbling Pegasus with logs of prose has friends enough. I am not of their company.

"Endymion."

Lyly's "Endymion"

is in the mind of the old myth, and of Keats long afterwards. Endymion aspires. His love is not to Earth—personified in Tellus—but to beauty that is high above the Earth. In the first scene of the First Act he tells his aspiration to his faithful friend Eumenides; and in the second scene the slighted Earth, Tellus, holds dialogue of him with Floscula, a flowret. "Know you not, fair lady," says Floscula, "that Cynthia governeth all things? Your grapes would be but dry husks, your corn but chaff, and all your virtues vain, were it not Cynthia that preserveth the one in the bud, and nourisheth the other in the blade, and by her influence both comforteth all things, and by her authority commandeth all creatures; suffer then Endymion to follow his affections, though to obtain her be impossible, and let him flatter himself in his own imaginations, because they are immortal." Earth, however, says she "will entangle him in such a sweet net, that he shall

neither find the means to come out, nor desire it"; she will "imitate Juno who would turn Jupiter's lovers to beasts on the earth, though she knew afterwards they should be stars in heaven." The essence of the play is shown at once in this clear opening of the poet's parable.

From suggestion of the spells of Earth over the soul given to heavenward aspiration we turn to a scene, developed from the clown scenes of the early drama, in which the clown's place is filled by the fantastic Sir Tophas—precursor of Shakespeare's Don Adrian de Armado and Malvolio. Sir Tophas, between the two smart pages of Endymion and Eumenides, and with his own page Epiton to support them in their jests at his expense, enters overloaded with implements. In this respect he may remind us of the first entry of the Vice in "Cambyses." A "fantastic person" was a favourite character in the Elizabethan drama, and in Lyly we see the process of his development out of a lower form of dramatic life. Then Tellus meets with the old Dipsas, through whom she hopes to win by witchcraft the love of Endymion.

Dipsas can do no more than make Endymion's truth suspected, "but this will wear out with time, that treadeth all things down but truth."

So ends the First Act, and the Second opens with a picture of the spiritual aspirations of Endymion. Tellus then entering, Endymion seeks to dissemble his higher desires, and greet her as "the only companion of his life." But his thoughts of Heaven break out of his discourse with earth. Cynthia, he says, is incomparable. "Cynthia I honour in all humility, whom none ought, or dare, adventure to love; whose affections are immortal, and virtues infinite. Suffer me, therefore, to gaze on the Moon, at whom, were it not for thyself, I would die with wondering."

The next scene is given to the fantastic humours of Sir Tophas, after introducing the pages Dares and Samias with two damsels, Scintilla and Favilla, who first entertain the audience by quarrelling with one another, and then fool Sir Tophas.

Then follows the last scene of the Second Act. Endymion seeks sleep upon a bank of lunary, "and if no slumber will take hold in my eyes, yet will I embrace the golden thoughts in my head, and wish to melt by musing." He sleeps, and Dipsas wreaks on him the wrath of Tellus. "Hadst thou placed thy heart," says the witch, "as low in love as thy head lieth now in sleep, thou mightest have commanded Tellus, whom now instead of a mistress thou shalt find a tomb."

The Third Act opens at the court of Cynthia, where Eumenides confirms the report of the dead sleep of his friend Endymion, and warms in his behalf even against the sharp-tongued follower of Cynthia,

Semele—quick at her witty girdings—whom he loves. Tellus, for scornful words of Endymion, is sent under charge of Corsites to the castle in the desert, there to remain and weave. Cynthia bids search be made among all sages of the world for remedy that shall restore Endymion.

In the next scene the soldier Corsites, enamoured of his prisoner, brings Tellus to the castle in the desert, where her pictures of earthly fates are to be woven.

In the next, Sir Tophas is produced with a new fantasy: he is in love with the old witch Dipsas. Heaviness of love brings Sir Tophas into a deep sleep, and his own boy Epiton, with the two boys Dares and Samias, sing and dance in mockery about him. Sir Tophas awakes and goes in search of Dipsas, followed by the three pages; for as Endymion is sleeping, and Eumenides has travelled away alone in search of a remedy, their servants are free to amuse themselves.

Then follows the fourth and last scene of the Third Act. Eumenides comes to Geron, an old man, who makes sad music by a fountain, and learns from him that whoever can see to the bottom of that well shall read in it how he may obtain his wish. But none can see to the bottom of that well who has not wept into it the tears of a love absolutely faithful. Eumenides is absolutely faithful to his mistress Semele. He recalls her image, weeps, and sees clearly to the bottom. He is then torn by doubt whether he shall ask how he may win Semele for himself, or how to help his friend. He puts his friend before himself, asks what will end Endymion's sleep, and reads then at the bottom of the well a riddle that Geron interprets. Endymion will rise from sleep if Cynthia stoop to touch him with a kiss.

In the first scene of the Fourth Act, Tellus beguiles the soldier Corsites, who offers all for her love, by promising herself to him if he will do one thing for all. On the lunary bank sleeps Endymion. Let Corsites only lift him, and remove him to some obscure cave.

There follows a comic scene with the three pages. Epiton is in disgrace with Sir Tophas, who desires to sleep like Endymion, and who makes sonnets. There are also humours of Master Constable and the Watch, along the way that leads to Dogberry and Verges.

In the third scene the strong Corsites, who has pulled up by its roots a forty year old tree in the presence of Cynthia, cannot lift Endymion. Corsites wonders, rests, sleeps, and is pinched by the fairies, who dance round him in mockery and kiss Endymion. They are friends, not of the fleshly, but of the spiritual, and the mind bent heavenward outweighs beyond all measure the powers of the flesh. Then enters Cynthia with Semele and her Court, including Pythagoras and Gyptas, to

represent the human wisdom that attends upon her. "They are thrice fortunate," says Gyptas, "that live in your palace, where truth is not in colours but life; virtues not in imagination but execution." "I have always studied," replies Cynthia, "to have rather living virtues than painted gods; the body of the truth than the tomb." Semele is condemned for her sharp tongue to a twelvemonth's silence. Corsites, found asleep, spotted with pinches of the fairies, is healed by the herb lunary. Corsites is turned from his love to Tellus, and Cynthia declares her readiness to help Endymion when the way to break the spell has been discovered.

The Fifth Act opens with Endymion awakened, after forty years' sleep, by the kiss of Cynthia. In his sleep there have been dreams. He has rejected in his dream a book in which there were three leaves, offered to him by a white-bearded old man; in the three leaves were written "counsels, policies, and pictures." Two leaves of the rejected book were torn out, and he took it when there remained only the last leaf—pictures. They showed wolves barking at Cynthia, "who having ground their teeth to bite, did with striving bleed themselves to death. There might I see ingratitude with an hundred eyes, gazing for benefits; and with a thousand teeth gnawing on the bowels wherein she was bred. Treachery stood all clothed in white, with a smiling countenance, but both her hands bathed in blood. Envy with a pale and meagre face (whose body was so lean that one might tell all her bones, and whose garment was so tattered that it was easy to number every thread) stood shooting at stars, whose darts fell down again on her own face," and so forth.

The second scene shows humours of the love of Tophas for the witch Dipsas, played upon by the three boys; and it may be observed that this fantastic love of Sir Tophas for the old witch, who is a servant of Earth, has its absurdities fairly arranged to serve as contrast to the higher aspirations of Endymion. It has, therefore, a closer relation in art to the play in which it is set than the witty talk of the philosophers in "Campaspe," with the humours of Diogenes as a *Socrates Furens*. At last the practices of Dipsas are discovered, and she is bidden to know that "Cynthia being placed for light on earth, is also protected by the powers of Heaven." Tellus, rebuked, pleads her love turned to hate by jealousy when she saw that all Endymion's love was towards Cynthia. "Persevere, Endymion," says Cynthia, "in loving me, and I account more strength in a true heart than in a walled city. I have laboured to win all, and study to keep such as I have won; but those that neither my favour can move to continue constant, nor my offered benefits get to be faithful, the gods shall either reduce to truth, or

revenge their treacheries with justice." There is here, and in many another play, a surface reference to Queen Elizabeth, which comes of readily identifying the queen's grace and wisdom with the wisdom from above. But throughout there is also set forth clearly an impersonal allegory that touches the relation of the mind of man to Earth and Heaven. Endymion, restored to youth and strength by the favour of Cynthia, "is vowed to a service from which death cannot remove him." A last wit-combat of Semele with Eumenides brings them to marriage. Dipsas releases from enchantment her old husband Geron by the well, and is rejoined to him. Corsites, the strong man, is wedded to Tellus. Bagoa, the servant of Dipsas, who revealed her counsels, and was turned to a tree for doing so, is released by Cynthia; "for," says Cynthia, "being turned to a tree for revealing a truth, I will recover thee again, if in my power be the effect of truth." There is a wife for Sir Tophas. Pythagoras and Gyptas, if they can fall from vain follies of philosophers to such virtues as are there practised, may still live in the Court of Cynthia. Whereupon says Pythagoras, "I had rather in Cynthia's Court spend ten years than in Greece one hour." Says Gyptes, "And I choose rather to live by the sight of Cynthia than by the possessing of all Egypt." Or, in the words of the Psalmist, "So will not we go back from Thee: quicken us, and we will call upon Thy name."

Other Plays.

John Lyly wrote four other plays—"Galathea" and "Midas," published in 1592, "Mother Bombie," published in 1594, and the pastoral of "Love's Metamorphosis," probably his last work, which was not published until 1601.* Mother Bombie is a fortune-teller in Kent; but, except herself and a boy, Halfpenny, all the characters have Latin names, and the piece is cleverly but artificially constructed in the way of the old Latin comedy.

"Mother Bombie."

* The first collection of plays by Lyly was made in 1632 by Edward Blount, who published "Endymion," "Campaspe," "Sapho and Phao," "Galathea," "Midas," and "Mother Bombie," as "Sixe Court Comedies. Often presented and acted before Queene Elizabeth, by the Children of her Maiesties Chappell, and the Children of Paules. Written by the only rare poet of that time, the wittie, comicall, facetiously-quicke and vnparalleld John Lilly, Master of Arts. *Decies repetita placebunt.* London: Printed by William Stansby for Edward Blount."

There seems to have been no long interval between the production at Court of George Peele's "Arraignment of Paris" and the beginning of John Lyly's career as a Court dramatist; but, as the date of the first acting of a play at Court by each of these poets is conjectural, Lyly may or may not be entitled to some months' priority, and so pass for the earliest English dramatist who wrote plays enough in number and repute to be collected as his works. We may be content to regard Lyly and Peele as the first two. With Peele we presently may quit the Court, and be among the writers for the public stage.

George Peele.

George Peele was born in 1558, a gentleman's son, and said to be of a Devonshire family. He became a student of the University of Oxford, at Broadgates Hall, now Pembroke College, took his degree of B.A. in June, 1577, and became M.A. in 1579, when twenty-one years old. He remained another two years in the university, thus having been a student there for nine years, when he married a wife with some property, and went to London. While in the university he was esteemed as a poet, made a version (now lost) of one of the two Iphigenias of Euripides into English, and probably then wrote his "Tale of Troy," in one book of heroic couplets; but this was first printed in 1589. In London Peele took his place, probably at once, among the poets.

The Patron and the Public.

They were, almost without exception, university men who were writing for the players. It was pleasant work and profitable. Hitherto everywhere, and still outside the theatre, the man with ability to be useful or pleasant—and to be wholesomely pleasant is also to be useful—as a writer, could not expect to live by the use of his pen unless he received indirect aid from the patronage, or direct aid from the purse, of a great lord or of the sovereign. Without help of the patron, or hope

of such help, many works of genius could never have been written in a world where daily bread costs daily money. Such patronage took many gracious forms; often it was ungracious. It offered only a precarious support, and lured sensitive men through years of vain anxiety and hope to a sorrowful old age. Spenser described it in his "Mother Hubbard's Tale"—

> "So pitiful a thing is suitor's state!
> Most miserable man, whom wicked fate
> Hath brought to court, to sue for had I wist
> That few have found, and many one hath mist!
> Full little knowest thou that hath not tried,
> What hell it is in suing long to bide:
> To lose good days that might be better spent;
> To waste long nights in pensive discontent;
> To speed to-day, to be put back to-morrow;
> To feed on hope, to pine with fear and sorrow;
> To have thy prince's grace, yet want her peers';
> To have thy asking, yet wait many years;
> To fret thy soul with crosses and with cares;
> To eat thy heart through comfortless despairs;
> To fawn, to crouch, to wait, to ride, to run,
> To spend, to give, to want, to be undone."

But there was no large public of readers, and there was no possible escape from the patron till the theatres began to rise. Then those who would now be readers became hearers, and paid for hearing as they would now pay for reading. From the money taken for each performance there was pay to the author, pay to the actors; pay earned by the use of a craft as simply and independently as money earned by carpenter or smith. A short experience of this made known to the clever men who came to London from the universities to work their way in life how they could run alone at once, and remain masters of themselves. If they chose to seek a patron they might do that also, but they were not compelled to feed on hope; there was money for

their bread, unless they spent it all on sack. In later years, when the stage had a less direct relation to all classes of the people, but was itself debased by Court patronage, this way of escape from the patron became but a narrow one. All hope of independence for the men of genius rested then upon the slow advance of education—till the readers could do gradually, now for one, then for another, and at last for all forms of literature, what in Elizabeth's day the hearers did for one form only. The young men thus established in London, drawing money from the theatres, could add also to their reputations and their incomes by writing for the booksellers tales, poems, or pamphlets upon stirring questions of the day. This they did, and there were some who flung themselves with high glee into paper wars, ready to profit in all possible ways by skill in the amusement of the town.

Peele's acquired knowledge caused him to be employed in Oxford, in 1583, as acting manager for two Latin plays, by his friend Dr. Gager, presented at Christ Church before a Polish prince. His first published verse was prefixed to Thomas Watson's "Passionate Centurie of Love," published in 1583.

Peele at Oxford.

Peele published anonymously, in 1584, "The Araygnement of Paris: a Pastorall, presented before the Queenes Maiestie by the Children of her Chapell." It is a pastoral play in five acts, not the less but the more poetical for a child-like simplicity of dialogue. It is written at first in various rhymed measures, which run into musical songs, passions, and complaints that sing themselves, but the metre becomes blank verse when the arraigned shepherd Paris has to defend himself before the council of the gods against the charge of unjust judgment in awarding the prize of worth to Venus for beauty, and so slighting the mind of Pallas and the majesty of Juno. The gods

"The Arraignment of Paris."

greatly puzzled, leave Diana to settle the question, and she settles it by compromise. In the Fifth Act she comes with Juno, Pallas, and Venus, each content to yield the prize, whether for mind, majesty, or outward beauty, to her who is supreme in all, Elizabeth, before whom also the three sisters, "Dames of Destiny," yield up their distaff, reel, and fatal knife. By way of epilogue, the performers at the end of the play pour the good wishes of men and gods on her Majesty in two Latin hexameters.

In 1585, George Peele was the deviser of a Lord Mayor's pageant. Of his other plays, there were none printed before 1590, the year in which Spenser published the first three books of "The Faerie Queene."

When, in 1589, Drake was sent as admiral, with Sir John Norris in command of the land forces, to attack the Spanish power over Portugal by making Don Antonio king, George Peele sang "A Farewell, entituled to the Famous and Fortunate Generalls of our English Forces: Sir John Norris and Sir Francis Drake, knights, and all theyr brave and resolute followers"; to which he added his "Tale of Troy," then first printed. Peele's cry was—

Farewell to Norris and Drake.

> "To arms, to arms, to glorious arms!
> With noble Norris and victorious Drake,
> Under the sanguine cross, brave England's badge,
> To propagate religious piety;
> . . . . . .
> Sail on, pursue your honours to your graves:
> Heaven is a sacred covering for your heads,
> And every climate virtue's tabernacle.
> To arms, to arms, to honourable arms!
> You fight for Christ and England's peerless queen,
> Elizabeth, the wonder of the world,
> Over whose throne the enemies of God
> Have thundered erst their vain successful braves:
> Oh, ten times treble happy men, that fight
> Under the Cross of Christ and England's queen,

And follow such as Drake and Norris are!
All honours do this cause accompany;
All glory on these endless honours waits:
These honours and this glory shall He send,
Whose honour and whose glory you defend."

Although not printed until 1595, Peele's "Old Wives' Tale" may be taken as an early piece that illustrates the grace by which Peele's work is distinguished, and also pleasantly suggests transition from the story told by one narrator to the story shown in action. It was a sort of child's story, told with a poet's playfulness. There was no division into acts. Three men lost in a wood were met by Clunch, and introduced to his old wife Madge, who gave them a supper, over which they sang, and then she began telling them in old wives' fashion "The Old Wives' Tale." It is a tale of a king's daughter stolen by a conjuror, who flew off with her in the shape of a great dragon, and hid her in a stone castle, "and there he kept her I know not how long, till at last all the king's men went out so long that her two brothers went to seek her." While the old woman talked the two brothers entered, and the story-telling passed into the acting of the story: very much as the art of the mediæval story-teller had passed into that of the Elizabethan dramatist. The Princess Delia was sought by her brothers, and sought also by Eumenides, her lover. A proper young man, whom the magician had turned into a bear by night and an old man by day, delivered mystic oracles by a wayside cross. Sacrapant triumphed in his spells, until Eumenides had made a friend of the ghost of Jack by paying fifteen or sixteen shillings to prevent the sexton and churchwarden from leaving poor Jack unburied. The ghost of Jack played pranks, and made an end of Sacrapant, whose destiny it was "never to die but by a dead man's hand." The light in the conjuror's mystic glass had been blown out by one that was "neither wife, widow, nor maid." The

"The Old Wives' Tale."

piece included a comic braggart, who could deliver himself—in burlesque of Stanihurst—according to the reformed manner of versifying—

> "Philida, phileridos, pamphilida, florida, flortos;
> 'Dub dub-a-dub, bounce,' quoth the guns, with a sulphurous huff-snuff."

The piece might be regarded as a playful child's story, told in nursery-tale fashion with simplicity and grace.

CHAPTER VII.

NOVELS BY ROBERT GREENE—PLAYS BEFORE MARLOWE—BULLEYN'S "DIALOGUE OF DEATH"—THE PLAGUE—END OF THE GOSSON CONTROVERSY—THOMAS LODGE—CHRISTOPHER MARLOWE'S "TAMBURLAINE" AND "FAUSTUS."

ROBERT GREENE was born at Norwich, as he said, "of parents who, for their gravity and honest life were well known and esteemed among their neighbours." He was bred also at Norwich, and was sent to Cambridge, where he was admitted to St. John's College as a sizar on the twenty-sixth of November, 1575. He graduated as B.A. in 1578-9. From this it may be inferred that the year of his birth was, at latest, 1560—probably 1558 or 1559. There is no reason for suggesting that he went to Cambridge at a more advanced age than seventeen. Robert Greene.

Greene wrote in 1592, the year of his death, a short account of his life, as part of "The Repentance of Robert Greene." Since his purpose in this piece was to make much of the evil he had done, we must not accept its phrases of self-condemnation without due allowance. The writer's aim was to help others by putting himself forward as an instance of misconduct that had led to ruin.* Robert

* In less degree there was the same self-condemnation for the benefit of others in *La Male Regle de T. Hoccleve* ("E. W." vi. 123, 124).

Greene put his best mind into his books, which were all wholesome, but he was at last stirred by an enthusiasm of religious self-accusation. That Greene was drawn into dissipation by a kindly social temper, that he sank from good company into bad, and that he was ruined by unsteadiness of character, cannot be doubted. But he has been too unsparingly condemned. Even at this day the chatter of a half-civilised world remains ill-natured, light errors are gossipped into deadly sins, ill deeds are seldom lightened in the telling; and if a man be so honest as to own his faults and press heavily upon himself in doing so, men who admire themselves may think they have the best authority for blackening his character.

We believe Greene when he says that he fell among dissipated companions. His writings show that he was joyous and companionable, and there might, perhaps, be evidence of weakness, not only in his ready yielding to temptation, but also in his extremities of self-reproach. "Being at the University of Cambridge," he said, "I light amongst wags as lewd as myself, with whom I consumed the flower of my youth, who drew me to travel into Italy and Spain, in which places I saw and practised such villainy as is abominable to declare. Thus by their counsel I sought to furnish myself with coin, which I procured by cunning sleights from my father and my friends, and my mother pampered me so long, and secretly helped me to the oil of angels, that I grew thereby prone to all mischief: so that being then conversant with notable braggarts, boon companions and ordinary spendthrifts, I became as a scion grafted into the same stock, whereby I did absolutely participate of their nature and qualities. At my return into England, I ruffled out in my silks in the habit of Malcontent, and seemed so discontent that no place would please me to abide in, nor no vocation cause me to stay myself in. But after I had by degrees proceeded Master of Arts, I left

the university and away to London, where, after I had continued for some time, and driven myself out of credit with sundry of my friends, I became an author of plays and a penner of love pamphlets, so that I soon grew famous in that quality, that who for that trade grown so ordinary about London as Robin Greene." From this we must infer that Greene travelled in Italy and Spain with some idle and extravagant young fellow-students after he had taken his B.A. degree, and that he drew money from home by representations that were not all true. His age then was about twenty. He seems to have returned to Cambridge in 1580, and on the third of October in that year there was licensed to Thomas Woodcock, on the register of the Stationers' Company, "Manilia. A Looking Glasse for y^e^ ladies of Englande." This was Greene's first love pamphlet, of which the earliest known edition is dated 1583. "Manilia" is Greene's "Mamillia," of which a second part was entered in the Stationers' Register on the sixth of September, 1583, but was not published until ten years later, in the year after its author's death.

In 1583 Greene, who had left St. John's College for Clare Hall, took his M.A. degree. Then he came to London, having written at Cambridge his first love pamphlet, "Mamillia: A Mirror or Looking-glasse for the Ladies of England," of which both parts were completed when their author's age was about four-and-twenty, but which was half finished two years earlier. Young writers commonly learn the mechanism of their art through imitation, and "Mamillia" was a direct imitation of Lyly's "Euphues," begun immediately after the appearance of the first part of the book in 1579 and of the second part in 1580. The resemblance is as close as it can be in a young novelist with real power of his own, who was to the end a follower of Lyly.

The love pamphlet, which had its origin in Italy, overlaid the action of the novel with descants of love after the

fashion of the prose pastoral and dainty speech of the court amorists. What story it had was used as a block for the display of choice patterns of verbal gallantry; dialogues of the kind then thought wittiest, in quips, dumps, privy nips, or passions; formally set debates upon love questions, after dinner or supper; model love letters, of suit, repulse, absolute denial, half denial, holding off or leading on; soliloquies, pages long, of amorous desire, of thought in conflict balancing opinions. Sometimes there was a little interposed verse, and there was always a free use of alliteration, antithesis, and forced analogies with supposed properties of things in nature, which are just as far from nature as the way of speech they were intended to adorn. John Grange's "Golden Aphroditis",* may be taken as a type of the love pamphlet that is nothing else. "Euphues," which remained unequalled for neat combination of antithesis with transverse alliteration, and which otherwise deserved the credit it obtained as the best model of the style named after it, aimed in its first part higher than the mere love pamphlet, and was less conventional in its suggestion of the persons of the story. But the dramatic sense was yet stronger in Greene than in Lyly, and even in "Mamillia" there is play of life to stir under the load of fashionable raiment. The dialogues, as to their manner, are all alike. Old men of the world and enamoured maidens, the faithful old nurse and the fickle young lover, all alike talk Euphuism. Whether driven into the deep den of distrust, or sunk in the surging seas of suspicion, when love is light, or fancy fickle, or faith fading, they are still far from so stayless a state as to miss their game of hunt the letter. Homely proverbial metaphors are welcome; a hero may have his heart on his halfpenny or find fish on his fingers, but his speech must be well spiced with classical

Love Pamphlets.

* "E. W." ix. 153, 154.

allusions.* Cupid, Venus, Paris, Œnone, Ulysses, Demophoon, Jason, Theseus, Alexander, Æneas, Silenus, Salomon, and a hundred more share their fitnesses as objects of comparison with "the stone Echites," "the herb called Flos Solis," "the birds of Colchos," "the bodies of the flies Cantharides," which are not to be cast away because their legs are poison.

That last illustration touches the real theme of Greene's "Mamillia," which is meant to show that, although some women are false, most women are faithful. The book is by its second title called "A Mirror for the Ladies of England," and it opposes to the rough censures of women an upholding of their constancy and truth. Men are less constant. Pharicles, the hero of the story, is a gallant courtier, rich, handsome, and well-spoken, but light of love, though not so light as to be untroubled by a conscience. He entangles himself in the first part of "Mamillia" with engagements to marry two ladies, Mamillia and Publia, who are cousins at Padua, and in his perplexity flies from them both to Saragossa, in a palmer's dress. Publia remains faithful, dies in a nunnery, and leaves her fortune to the faithless Pharicles. Mamillia's father dies and leaves her a large fortune, which is to pass from her to the city of Padua if she should marry Pharicles. But Pharicles, who had put off his palmer's weed in Saragossa and shone out again as an accomplished courtier, firmly repels the advance of a rich courtesan whose fancy he has fired; she, in revenge, accuses him of treason, and he is to die for it. On the day when he is to die for it, Mamillia reaches Saragossa with proof of his innocence. She saves him and then gives herself to him, careless of the loss of her inheritance

"Mamillia."

* Not without an occasional slip, as when Mamillia, in set debate upon fidelity of women, asks touching men "if ever any of their bravest champions offered to die for his wife as Admeta did for her husband Alcest."

in Padua, "where the senators hearing of the strange adventures which Pharicles had passed, and perceiving the incomparable constancy of Mamillia, they were not only content that they two should marry together, but also, contrary to her father's last will and testament, let her peaceably enjoy all his lands and possessions." Greene added to his novel a letter from Mamillia to the virtuous young lady Modesta on the choice of a husband, which he illustrates by the story of a rich merchant of Tolèdo who had married for money, and found life a burden till his wife died, leaving him a daughter. He resolved that he would not fetter his daughter's choice, and when there came three suitors—an Italian, old and very rich, a Frenchman of surpassing beauty but somewhat foolish, and an Englishman of great wit but of very small wealth—each said his best to recommend himself, and she replied in full to each, choosing the Englishman.

It may be added of "Mamillia" that in two places Greene cites Mantuan's eclogue on the Nature of Women* as a false indictment, and that his education at St. John's College, at the time of the attempts in aid of a reformed versifying, led him to try his hand at hexameters in the only piece of verse included in "Mamillia." They are verses on the vanities of women—matters to be argued before two ladies of Saragossa, Madame Gambara and the young lady Modesta. Here are half a dozen of the lines—

"Dames nowadayes? fie none: if not new guiséd in all points,
Fancies fine, sawst with conceits, quick wits verie wilie."

. . . . . .

"Up from the wast like a man, new guise to be casde in a doublet.
Down to the foote perhaps like a maid, but hosde to the knee-stead.
Haires by birth as blacke as Iet, what? art can amend them.
A perywig frounst fast to the frunt, or curld with a bodkin."

* "E. W." ix. 34.

That is from the second part of "Mamillia," finished in 1583 but not published until ten years later, in the year after its author's death.

When he had continued for some time in London, Robert Greene wrote plays as well as love pamphlets, but of plays extant that can now be known for his there is not one of earlier date than Marlowe's "Tamburlaine." We might infer from his known works that, as he was made a novelist by the success of "Euphues," he was made playwright by the success of "Tamburlaine," following that also immediately with a piece in the same vein. Greene's novels or love pamphlets not only satisfied the requirements of fashion, but they were so kindly in spirit and so well contrived as bits of story-telling, that they gave not less content to simple human nature in their readers. Lyly produced no novels or love pamphlets to continue the success of "Euphues," but gave himself entirely to the production of Court plays. Robert Greene was the chief continuer of the supply of novels, and no other writer equalled his success. He produced in 1584 four pieces—one was a short love pamphlet, of which only one copy remains, "The Myrrour of Modestie, wherein appeareth as in a perfect Glasse howe the Lorde deliuereth the innocent from all imminent perils, and plagueth the bloodthirstie hypocrites with deserued punishments. Shewing that the graie heades of dooting adulterers shall not go with peace into the graue, neither shall the righteous be forsaken in the daie of trouble. By R.G. Maister of Artes." * Another piece published this year was "Gwydonius, or the Card of Fancie";

Novels of 1584.

* "Imprinted at London by Roger Warde, dwelling at the signe of the Talbot neere vnto Holburne Conduit, 1584. "A Myrrour of Modestie," entered in the Stationer's Register on the seventh of April, 1579, was an earlier book of the same name, written by a Thomas Colter. "Mirrors," as we have seen, abounded.

a third was the first part of "Morando," and the fourth was "Arbasto, the Anatomie of Fortune."

"The Myrrour of Modestie."

"The Myrrour of Modestie" is a new telling of the story of Susanna and the Elders, or the Judgment of Daniel, from the apocryphal additions to the Book of Daniel.

"Gwydonius."

Gwydonius was the handsome dissipated son of Clerophontes, Duke of Mitylene, who had also a perfectly fair and good daughter, Lewsippa. Gwydonius, sent upon his travels, wasted time at Barutta with riotous companions, who deserted him when he was put into the prison from which he escaped to Alexandria. There, received into the service of Duke Orlanio, he became the friend of the duke's son Thersandro, and the lover of the duke's daughter Castania. But Orlanio was vassal to the father of Gwydonius, and had refused him tribute. Therefore Clerophontes levied war, Thersandro was sent to treat for peace, and while at Mitylene he became the lover of Lewsippa. Clerophontes marched with his army. Gwydonius, to avoid being sent as leader of the forces raised to meet his father, planned flight with Castania. Betrayed by Valericus, a hopeless lover of Castania's, he was put in prison. Clerophontes was victorious in battle on a plain within thirty leagues of Alexandria, but lost much strength on his own part. Single combat was appointed to decide the issue. Gwydonius went out as champion for Alexandria disguised in the armour of Thersandro, who, having undertaken the combat, had expressed to his friend great doubts of the issue. Clerophontes came himself as champion for Mitylene. But Gwydonius, for whom Castania was the prize of victory, entered the lists even against his father, received hard blows, returning none, and when he saw his opportunity he flung away his sword and shield, ran in upon his father, tore his shield from him, threw him, and made him prisoner. Then Gwydonius declared himself, and all was

well. That is the groundwork of the story of "Gwydonius," which is adorned with the usual love dialogues, debates, soliloquies, and letters. As a last illustration of the manner of the Euphuists, we take a whole letter of Castania to Gwydonius, written when her heart inclined to him, but she thought to try his constancy with one volley of shot, and if that did not make him fly the field she would resign the fort of her freedom into his hands.

"*Castania to Gwydonius, which hopeth in vaine, health.*

"Maister Gwydonius, your letter being more hastelie receiued than heartilie read, I perceiue by the contents that you are stil perplexed with your pen-sick passions, and that your disease is incurable, for if your paines may be appeased or your maladie mittigated by no medicine but by my means, you are like either to pay your due vnto death, or still to linger in distresse. My cunning is to smal to enterprise the composition of anie secrete simples, and my calling to great to become a Phisition to such a paltering patient, so that I neither can nor wil cure another man's harme by mine owne mishap. To loue him whome I cannot like were but to wreast against mine owne will, to flatter him whome I meane not to fancie is but a meere tricke of extreame follie.

"What the cause is, Gwydonius, that thy goodwill reaps so small gaine, and that so rigorously I repaie thy loue with hate, I know not, vnlesse the constellation of the starres by some secrete influence haue so appointed it in the calculation of our natiuitie. But this I am sure, that as no Serpent can abide the smell of a harts horne, as the Panther escheweth the companie of the Ownce, as the Vulture is mortal enimie to the Eele, and as it is impossible to hatch vp a Swanne in an Eagles neast, to temper Oile and Pitch together in one vessel, to mixe the bloud of a Lione and a Woolfe in one bowle, and to procure amitie betweene the Fawlcon called *Tilo* and the Foxe, so hard is it to procure me by ruthful request to be thy friend, which am by instinct of nature thy protested foe, and as hard to winne me to thy wife who so little likes of thy loue that the verie remembrance of thy person makes me fal into most hatefull passions. Cease then, Gwydonius, to condempne me of crueltie, and leaue off at last to appeale to my curtisie, for thou shalt alwaies be sure to feede the one, and neuer to finde the other. Yet least thou shouldest accuse me of ingratitude, though I cannot inwardlie mittigate thy miserie, yet I will outwardlie

teach thee to applie such plaisters (as if the experience of them proue true) shall greatlie appease thy paine. Plinie, Gwydonius, reporteth, that he which drinketh of the river Auerna cooleth and mortifieth his affections, but if the water be touched by anie means before it be drunk, the vertue thereof is of no value. He that weareth the feathers of the Birde *Ezalon* about him shall euer be fortunate in his loue, but if they be not pulled when the sunne is eclipsed, they are of no force: and to conclude, there is nothing that sooner driueth awaie amorous conceits then to rub y^e^ temples of thy head with y^e^ sweat of an Asse, which if you canne performe it, as no doubt you may put it in practise, I hope you shall be redressed from your intollerable griefe, and I released from such an importunate sute.

Forced by the destinies still to denie thee,
Castania."

"Arbasto."

Arbasto, King of Denmark, victorious in war with Pelorus, King of France, accepts truce, becomes a guest, and falls in love with Doralicia, the eldest daughter of his enemy, while Myrania, the youngest daughter, falls in love with him. Arbasto is seized, and imprisoned with his friend Egerio. Myrania saves him, and he marries her for gratitude, while loving her sister Doralicia. When Myrania discovers this, she dies of grief. Arbasto is driven from his kingdom by his subjects, and becomes a hermit in a cave, who tells his story to the novelist.

"Morando."

Morando, hero of the novel named from him, of which the first part was also first published in 1584, is an Italian gentleman who invites several friends to his country house, where they discourse for three days upon love, arguing and illustrating with little tales on the three several days three several questions offered for debate. The first question touches the truth or falsehood of the proverb, "Love does much, but Money all"; the second asks Whether it be good to love; and the third asks Whether women are more subject to love than men. The three days' argument is indicated by the

second title of the book, "Morando, or the Tritameron of Love."

In 1585 Robert Greene produced only one love pamphlet. This was "Planetomachia," dedicated to the Earl of Leicester. After an introduction in praise of Astrology, and a Latin dialogue in which Greene professed to discourse with his friend, Francis Hand, upon prognostications, with use of matter derived from Joannes Jovianus Pontanus (Pontanus was Secretary to Ferdinand II. of Aragon, and died an old man in 1503, leaving a large number of books, besides his history of the wars of Ferdinand I. and John of Anjou)—after these preludes came the story book, which represents the seven planets in discourse together, and the question arising whether Saturn the baleful or Venus the benign have most influence upon the fates of lovers. Each tells a tale against the other. "Venus' Tragedie" is of a saturnine Duke of Ferrara, who took deadly vengeance on the love between his daughter and a man he looked on as an enemy. "Saturnes Tragedie" is a tale told against Venus, of Psammetichus and the unfaithful Rhodope. "Planetomachia."

It was after the writing of "Planetomachia" that Greene, in 1585 or early in 1586, married the daughter of a gentleman in Lincolnshire. They lived together probably at Norwich; for he says that he spent her portion, and after a child was born to them they parted, she going back home to Lincolnshire and he to London. He said in his last days that he had been away from her six years. They parted, therefore, in 1586, after about a year of marriage. Greene, going back to London, saw in that year, or in 1587, the great success of Marlowe's "Tamburlaine," plunged desperately into pleasures that breed pain, and poured himself out for the next six years as playwright and novelist. This time of Robert Greene's race to the grave was the time of Shakespeare's Greene's Marriage: Life among the Players.

training in his art. They were the six years during which Shakespeare was among the players, not yet recognised as a playwright, although using his pen for the renovation of old work. They were the six years in which the English drama was enriched by the genius of a few men, all young, who were true poets, and advanced the literature of the public stage to intellectual wealth and power. During the quarter of a century since the production of "Gorboduc," on New Year's Day, 1562, to the production of Marlowe's "Tamburlaine," the growth of the drama had been growth of childhood. Sir Philip Sidney, in his "Apologie for Poetrie," had found little to praise in English plays. The five-and-twenty years from "Gorboduc" to "Tamburlaine" were years of early growth in which, especially, there was development of the conditions of success:—the actors' craft, the reasonable independence of the stage, shaping of theatres, and partial training of an ill-taught populace to finer sense of intellectual enjoyment; there was the rise also of a higher energy in poets who had grown to manhood quickened by the dainty vigour of the time. Before 1586 there was no period of six years in the story of the drama that would have been so fruitful of suggestion to a young Shakespeare, taking note of what he heard and saw, as the six years from 1586 to 1592. These were the years of Shakespeare's 'prentice time, after which he began to write plays of his own that rose to the full height of human power—a height, perhaps, not to be reached twice in the history of man.

Shakespeare under Elizabeth will be the subject of the next book of this history. In this book there is only indication of his place in the narrative, which now stands at the time when he was twenty-two years old, and came to London with his work before him.

Except the Court plays of Lyly and Peele, there is nothing of mark to represent Elizabethan drama before the

production of Marlowe's "Tamburlaine," in 1586 or 1587. Greene's first play followed up "Tamburlaine;" so did Kyd's "Spanish Tragedy," and so did Lodge's "Wounds of Civil War." Nevertheless, "Gorboduc" had led the way to a substantial advance in the direction of a higher drama. Players no longer spent their skill on pieces like the "pretty and mery new Enterlude called the Disobedient Child, Compiled by Thomas Ingelend, late student in Cambridge," which was printed by Thomas Colwell in 1564, and was a lineal descendant of an interlude of Edward VI.'s time called "Lusty Iuventus." In the play of "The Disobedient Child," Rich Man's Son married against his father's advice, and caught a Tartar. The Devil came in with his "Ho, ho, ho!" and advised young men to beware of him. As the players knelt at the end to pray for Queen Elizabeth and for the bishops and clergy, lords of the council, and all the nobility and people in general, perhaps the piece was presented at Court.

Before Marlowe.

"The Disobedient Child."

Another piece published in 1564, for which there has been no place yet in our story, we may glance back to as an illustration of the rise of a dramatic spirit in the land. William Bulleyn, born in the Isle of Ely in Henry VIII.'s time, resigned in 1554 the Rectory of Blaxhall, in Suffolk, which he had held four years, and went abroad to study medicine. He had a brother Richard, who remained a clergyman. At the beginning of Elizabeth's reign William Bulleyn published a book on "The Government of Health," with a sovereign regiment against the Pestilence. There was a second edition of it in 1595. It included verses by the author "Against Surfeting." Dr. Bulleyn wrote a book on "Healthful Medicines," of which the MS. was lost at sea, with part of his library, on a voyage from Tynemouth to London after the death by fever of a patron, Sir Thomas Hilton, in whose family he had been

Dr. William Bulleyn.

living. In London Dr. Bulleyn was accused by his late patron's brother of the murder of Sir Thomas Hilton, probably because he was seeking marriage with his patron's widow. He did marry her, after he had cleared himself of the false accusation. In 1563 appeared "Bulleyn's Bulwarke of defence againste all Sicknese Sornes and Woundes that dooe daily assaulte mankinde, which Bulwarke is kept with Hilarius the Gardiner, Health the Phisician, with the Chirurgian to helpe the wounded soldiors." Hilarius the Gardiner has care of the simples, which are so fully discussed as to give this book the credit of including among its contents the earliest English Herbal; the Chirurgian, in a Dialogue with Soreness, condemns quackery and gives the names of the best surgeons of the time. But the most striking example given by Bulleyn of the new dramatic spirit showing itself even in a book of medicine, is in the work shortly described as "Bulleyn's Dialogue of Death"—"A Dialogue both pleasaunte and pietifull, wherein is a goodly regimente against the feuer Pestilence, with a consolacion and comfort against Death," printed in March, 1564—that is, 1565—and again in 1573 and 1578. In these dialogues a Medicus—who was called, in the edition of 1575, Antonius Capistrinus—has his name transformed in subsequent editions into Tocrub. This name was got by reversal of the letters of the name of a Dr. Burcot, whom Bulleyn wished to satirise. But the serious theme of Death by Pestilence was seriously treated. Bulleyn died in January, 1576.

"Bulleyn's Dialogue of Death."

Pestilence was in those days a very serious theme, that touched also the fortunes of the drama. Until the latter part of the fifteenth century, Plague attacked men generally in the town and country. After that time it fastened upon towns especially, and townspeople fled for safety into country houses, farms, and villages—as Wolsey said, "into clean air." The form of

Plague Years.

pestilence known as the English Sweating Sickness first appeared in 1485. There were subsequent great outbreaks in 1508, 1517, 1528, and it disappeared after its last outbreak in 1551. The Sweating Sickness attacked chiefly the rich. Its brother Pestilence, known commonly as the Plague, that began with the Black Death of 1348 and ended with the Plague of 1665-6, fell chiefly on the poor. These two forms of disease had not the same cause, and did not come in the same years. Within the sixty-six years of the existence of the Sweating Sickness in England, the chief Plague years were, before Elizabeth's reign, 1500, 1509, 1513, 1531, 1535, 1543, 1547, after which followed the first great Plague under Elizabeth in 1563. Of this Plague Dr. Bulleyn made a citizen say in his "Dialogue of Death," published in 1564: "Good wife, the daily jangling and ringing of the bells, the coming in of the minister to every house in ministering the communion, the reading of the Homily of Death"—on "The Fear of Death," probably by Cranmer *—"the digging up of graves, the sparring of windows, and the blazing forth of the blue crosses do make my heart tremble and quake." After this great outbreak there remained, of course, the fact reported by the Venetian ambassador in 1554, that "they have some little plague in England well nigh every year." The ambassador then added that in the years of little plague they were "not accustomed to make sanitary provisions for it, as it does not usually make great progress; the cases for the most part occur among the lower classes." But in 1563 precautions were established, of which some were applied in seasons of slighter danger. One of these precautions forbade the gathering of people together to see plays and interludes in times when there was danger of infection. In the September of that great Plague year 1563 her Majesty shut herself up at Windsor, and Stow records that a gallows was set up there in the

* "E. W." viii. 151.

market-place to hang all those who should come into Windsor from London. Any Windsor people who received anything from London were turned out, and had their houses shut up as infected.

After 1563, the next beginning of a more serious outburst of Plague was in October, 1568. It was raging in 1569 in London, but there was not much in 1570, when it was spread over the Continent and 30,000 died of it in Venice. In 1571 it was at Oxford and Cambridge, as it was sometimes deadly in one or more of the larger country towns, though not in London. In 1573 it was so bad in London that the feast on Lord Mayor's Day was omitted by order of the queen. In 1575 it was at Westminster, but not in the City. The next great Plague year in the City was 1578. In four weeks of March, 1578, out of a total of 283 deaths, 36 were from Plague; but in the four weeks from the eighteenth of September to the sixteenth of October the deaths numbered 1,449, of which 887 were from Plague. The lightest Plague week was that ending on the twentieth of March, when of 75 deaths 5 were from Plague; the heaviest was that ending on the ninth of October, when there were 234 deaths from Plague out of a whole mortality of 388, with 62 christenings. The whole number of deaths from Plague in London in 1578 was 3,568; in 1579 it was 629; in 1580 it was 128. In 1581 it rose again beyond 1,000, and in 1582 it reached 3,000, or 2,976 in fifty-one weeks, the mortality for the omitted week being between 60 and 70.* This longer continuity of

* These figures are taken from abstracts of Burials and Baptisms in London, 1578-1583, which were procured by Lord Burghley from the Lord Mayor of London, and are now in Lord Salisbury's library at Hatfield. They are not included in the published Calendar of the Cecil MSS. The abstracts were first published in "A History of Epidemics in Britain from A.D. 664 to the Extinction of Plague. By Charles Creighton M.A., M.D., formerly Demonstrator of Anatomy in the

Plague, from 1578 to 1583, with special severity in 1578 and 1582, gave rise to a proclamation in 1580 against new buildings within three miles of the City gates. But from 1583 to 1592 there were nine years during which London was comparatively free from Plague, and its population, by addition of some 30,000, rose to 150,000.

This freedom from any great pestilence between 1586 and 1592 removed one great hindrance to the rise of the drama during what may be called Shakespeare's 'prentice years.

Another difficulty in the way of the drama had been overcome three or four years before Shakespeare's first going to London. The acting of plays on Sunday had been, as we have seen, the chief cause, and the only reasonable cause, of strong antagonism between the pulpit and the stage. The custom had risen innocently from simple continuance of the old fashion of using as times of recreation any hours on Sundays and holy days that were not set apart for divine service. The custom is implied in modern use of the word "holiday." On working days the daylight hours were occupied, and when plays were only acted during daylight there were many people who could only see a play on days of rest. But the Reformation brought with it a quickened sense of the duty of keeping holy the Sabbath Day, and of devoting it, as much as possible, to study of the Word of God. The Puritan section of the Reformed Church insisted very strongly upon this. It resented the success of players' trumpets in summoning often larger congregations than could be gathered by the call of the church bells. But on the

The Accident in Paris Garden: Sunday Plays Forbidden.

University of Cambridge. Cambridge University Press, 1891." This volume—interesting in many ways—contains much information that is of distinct use to the student of literature.

thirteenth of January, 1583,* which was a Sunday, there was so great a throng in the old galleries at Paris Garden—which had been used for bull and bear baiting since the beginning of Henry VIII.'s reign, but was then used also for the acting

* New Style, to which, for avoidance of confusion, I reduce all year dates open to question. The Julian Calendar prevailed throughout Christendom until the time of which we are now speaking. Its year began on the twenty-fifth of March, which was the day of the vernal equinox in Julius Cæsar's time. In 1582 Pope Gregory XIII. reformed the Calendar, and by suppression of ten days brought the equinox to the twenty-first of March, the day on which it fell at the time of the Council of Nice, A.D. 325. A new year was then held to begin on the first of January. England and other countries that refused the guidance of a Pope in Rome—including followers of the Greek Church, who, as in Russia, hold by the Old Style even now—continued to reckon the legal year from the twenty-fifth of March. They retained the date of the unexpired year until the twenty-fourth of March next following, so that December, 1582, was followed by January, 1582, and the year continued to be 1582 until the twenty-fourth of March; while countries that did not repudiate every act of a Pope of Rome wrote as we should write now—January, February, and March, 1583.

There was also a discrepancy throughout the year of ten days in the day date. Thus the author of "Don Quixote" died in Spain on the twenty-third of April, 1616; Shakespeare died in England on the same date—not on the same day. For in Roman Catholic Spain the cancelling of ten days at the establishment of Pope Gregory's Calendar Reform brought the twenty-third of April to the day we counted as the third of May in England. When we at last accepted the New Style, in 1752, we had to right ourselves by striking eleven days out of the reckoning, and street mobs of good people who thought their lives were shortened then cried, "Give us back our eleven days!" After 1582, therefore, in the future course of our narrative, until 1752, Italian, Spanish, or French day dates have to be brought into accord with English reckoning by giving back to them their ten days, until the year 1700; after that their eleven days, until 1752, after which time both reckonings accord. In Russia, where Old Style has been continued, the difference became twelve days from the first of March, 1800. It will be thirteen days from the first of March, 1900. As in relation to them ours now is the New Style, from which days have been subtracted, when adjustment is required it is to our own day date that the addition of twelve or thirteen has to be made.

of stage plays—that one of them fell. Many were sorely injured by this accident, and eight were killed. This was believed to be a judgment from Heaven. The Lord Mayor so represented it to Lord Burghley. The Privy Council issued, and thenceforth enforced, an order that the actors should "forbear wholly to play on the Sabbath-day, either in the forenoon or the afternoon." The Mayor and Corporation set keen watch to prevent any act of disobedience to this order, and from that time there was an end of Sunday plays in England.

Gosson's "School of Abuse,"* published in 1579, was answered at once by Thomas Lodge in a small pamphlet of sixteen leaves in "Defence of Poetry, Music, and Stage Plays." This was recalled before publication, and only two copies of it have survived. One of them is in the Bodleian.† They have no title-page or printer's name. Thomas Lodge, when he wrote that piece, was hardly older than one-and-twenty. He was the son of Thomas Lodge, a London trader who became Lord Mayor and was knighted. He was sent to Trinity College, Oxford, where he showed more interest in literature than pleased his father, who eventually disinherited him, while his mother left him in her will part of her separate property on the condition that he remained "what a good student ought to be." Troubles at home went, therefore, with the suppression of Lodge's pamphlet in defence of players, against whom his father shared the Puritan hostility of the Corporation of London. Stephen Gosson, however, read the pamphlet and answered

End of the Gosson Controversy; Lodge's Reply to Gosson.

* "E. W." viii. 390-392.

† The other is at Britwell. The pamphlet was reprinted for the original Shakespeare Society in 1853: "Defence of Poetry, Music and Stage Plays, by Thomas Lodge. To which are added, by the same author, An Alarm against Usurers, and Forbonius and Prisceria. Edited by David Laing."

it. There had been acted, also, in reply to Gosson's "School of Abuse," a morality called "The Play of Plays," which is known only by Gosson's account of it in his answer to Lodge. The reply was published without date, not before 1582, as Gosson says that he did not see Lodge's pamphlet till a whole year after it was printed. The reply is entitled "Playes Confuted in fiue Actions, Prouing that they are not to be suffred in a Christian common weale, by the waye of both the Cavils of Thomas Lodge, and the Play of Playes, written in their defence, and other obiections of Players frendes are truely set downe and directlye aunswearedt. By Steph. Gosson, Stud. Oxon. S. Cyprian. *Non diserta, sed fortia.* London, Imprinted for Thomas Gosson * dwelling in Pater noster row at the signe of the Sunne."

"The Play of Plays."

"Playes Confuted in Five Actions."

Gosson's "five actions" of his pamphlet are not in dialogue or in any way dramatic; they are only the five sections of a Puritan prose argument. Of Lodge's defence he says that,

* Thomas Gosson, probably Stephen's brother, made free of the Stationers' Company in February, 1577, was a publisher from 1579 to 1599. His business was continued by his widow Alice until 1615, and by his son Henry from 1603 to 1640. See Professor Arber's "List, based on the Registers of the Stationers' Company, of 837 London Publishers (who were by trade Printers, Engravers, Booksellers, Bookbinders, &c. &c.) between 1553 and 1640, A.D. Being a Master Key to English Bibliography during a Period in which almost all authorised books were printed in the Metropolis; excepting principally a number which from 1584-85 onwards, came from the University Presses of Cambridge and Oxford." The value of this carefully formed alphabetical list to students of our literature is obvious. For, as Professor Arber says, "At the back of the History of the printed Literature lies the History of Printing itself." Professor Arber is his own publisher, and for this, as for other books of his, application should be made to himself at Mason's College, or at his private address, 34, Wheeleys Road, Edgbaston, Birmingham.

"Amongst all the favourers of these uncircumcised Philistines, I mean the Players, whose hearts are not right, no man till of late durst thrust out his head to maintain their quarrel, but one, in wit, simple; in learning, ignorant; in attempt, rash; in name, Lodge: whose book, as it came not to my hands until one whole year after the privy printing thereof, so I confess that to it, before this time, I answered nothing, partly because my heart was too big to wrestle with him that wanteth arms. Therefore considering within myself that such kind of sores may be lanced too soon, I chose rather to let him ripen and break of himself, that vomiting out his own disgrace and being worn out of favour among his own friends, I might triumph in the cause and shed no blood."

Gosson seems to have heard of young Lodge's trouble at home, but without personal knowledge, for he presently speaks of him as William Lodge. One point in Gosson's argument is worth a passing note. In his third "Action" he finds wickedness in the presenting of women's parts by boys.

"The law of God," he says, "very straightly forbids men to put on women's garments, garments are set down for signs distinctive between sex and sex; to take unto us those garments that are manifest signs of another sex is to falsify, forge and adulterate, contrary to the express rule of the word of God, which forbiddeth it by threatening a curse unto the same. All that do so are an abomination unto the Lord; which way, I beseech you, shall they be excused that put on not the apparel only, but the gait, the gestures, the voice, the passions of a woman?"

We may also take from Gosson's fourth "Action" his description of the "Play of Plays." Its author

"tyeth Life and Delight so fast together that if Delight be restrained Life presently perisheth. There Zeal, perceiving Delight to be embraced of Life, puts a snaffle in his mouth to keep him under. Delight being bridled, Zeal leadeth Life through a wilderness of loathsomeness, where Glut scarreth them all, chasing both Zeal and Delight from Life, and with the Club of Amasedness strikes such a peg into the head of Life that he falls down for dead upon the stage.

"Life being thus faint and overtravailed, destitute of his guide, robbed of Delight, is ready to give up the ghost. In the same place

then entereth Recreation, which with music and singing rocks Life asleep to recover his strength. By this means Tediousness is driven from Life, and the tent is drawn out of his head which the club of Amasedness left behind. At last Recreation setteth up the Gentleman upon his feet, Delight is restored to him again, and such kind of sports for cullices* are brought in to nourish him as none but Delight must apply to his stomach. Then time being made for the benefit of Life, and Life being allowed to follow his appetite, amongst all manner of pastimes Life chooseth comedies for his delight, partly because comedies are neither chargeable to the beholder's purse nor painful to his body; partly because he may sit out of the rain to view the same when many other pastimes are hindered by the weather. Zeal is no more admitted to Life because he is somewhat pinched in the waist, to avoid extremity; and being not, in the end, simply called Zeal, but Moderate Zeal. A few conditions are prescribed to comedies, that the matter be purged, deformities blazed, sin rebuked, honest mirth intermingled, and fit time for the hearing of the same appointed. Moderate Zeal is contented to suffer them, who winneth with Delight to direct Life again, after which he triumphs over death and is crowned with eternity."

Gosson, in his reply, separates himself from the strict Puritan who would abridge the many innocent delights of life by restriction of men to the use only of what is necessary; but he replies in the old spirit, and ends the fourth "Action" of his "Plays Confuted" with declaration that "it is shame to frequent plays, impudency to defend them." In his fifth "Action" there is the objection that "theatres are snares to fair women. . . . In the playhouse at London, it is the fashion of youths to go first into the yard, and to carry their eye through every gallery, then like unto the ravens where they spy the carrion thither they fly, and press as near to the fairest as they can." The old Romans gave in such case pomegranates, the Londoners give pippins. Gosson's last plea against poets and players

* "Cullis" is strong broth, from French *coulis*. "Tent," just above, is suggested by the tent that a surgeon puts into a wound to keep it open.

is that most of them have left some other calling, and "we are commanded by God to abide in the same calling wherein we were called.* . . . Wherefore I hope the wise will account it necessary that such as have left their occupations either be turned to the same again, or cut off from the body as putrified members for infecting the rest."

That was the strain of contest at the time when the old gallery broke down in Paris Garden, and eight sudden deaths at a play acted on Sunday caused the Privy Council to remove, in 1583, the chief cause of offence.

In 1583, in Italy, ten years after Tasso's "Aminta," there was published another famous pastoral play, which has been six times translated into English, the *Pastor Fido* of Giambattista Guarini, who was, like Tasso, a courtier at Ferrara. He was seven years older than Tasso, and survived him nineteen years, dying in 1612. The only translation made in Elizabeth's reign was that of Charles Dymock, published in 1602 with a dedication to Sir Edward Dymock. The best English translation followed forty-five years later.

Guarini's *Pastor Fido.*

Thomas Lodge published, in 1584, "An Alarum against Usurers. Containing tryed experiences against worldly abuses. Wherein Gentlemen may finde good counsells to confirme them and pleasant Histories to delight them: and euery thing so interlaced with varietie as the curious may be satisfied with rarenesse, and the curteous with pleasure. Herevnto are annexed the delectable historie of Forbonius and Prisceria: with the lamentable Complaint of Truth ouer England, Written by Thomas Lodge, of Lincolnes Inne, Gentleman. *O Vita! Misero longa, fælici brevis.* Imprinted at London by T. Este, for Sampson Clarke, and are to be sold at his shop by Guyld Hall. 1584." If Lodge, with his strong bent to literature, was attempting law studies at

Thomas Lodge.

* An odd application of 1 Corinthians vii. 20.

Lincoln's Inn, he soon broke from them and went to sea with a Captain Clarke, who was bent on an expedition against possessions of Spain in Terceira and the Canary Islands. He was at sea, probably, when Marlowe's "Tamburlaine" began the new life of the London stage.

"Clyomon and Clamydes."

A play that was not published until 1599, "The Historie of the two valiant knights, Sir Clyomon, Knight of the Golden Sheeld, sonne to the king of Denmarke, and Clamydes the white knight, sonne to the King of Suavia: As it hath bene sundry times Acted by her Maiesties Players," has George Peele's name inscribed, in an old handwriting, on one of the few remaining copies, as its author. Alexander Dyce, in his edition of Peele's works, accepted this authority, and thought the play to be an early work of Peele's, produced not long after "The Arraignment of Paris." The time of its first production may be rightly indicated. "Her Majesty's Players" was a specific title first taken in 1583, when the City authorities had expelled the players from the City inn-yards, and the Earl of Leicester's company, with the addition of some other players, was, at Sir Francis Walsingham's suggestion, licensed as the queen's company. Many before that time had taken the name of "Queen's Players," on the ground only of their having been employed to act before the queen. But although the date of the first performance of "Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes" may have been about 1584, the author certainly was not George Peele. The play is in rhyming couplets of septenars, with occasional couplets in Alexandrine, or in lines of eight accents, with a few other variations. Much of the verse runs so smoothly, that we may set down to hurt received from the players all the lameness in its metre. Frequent interpolation of the actor's "Well!" outside the metre—which seems to have served the purpose of those inarticulate snuffs and grunts used by some modern actors for addition to their powers of expression—suggests

that the text is from a players' copy. The play tells—with sufficient relish, but with no great skill and many a feeble line that Peele could not have written—a tale of knights and princesses, of an Isle of Strange Marshes, of an enchanter in a Forest of Strange Marvels, of a woman-eating serpent to be killed before a princess can be won, and it is also seasoned with a clown. It is very interesting as example of the taste for tales

> "Of tourneys and of trophies hung,
> Of forests and enchantments drear;"

and though in these crude inventions no more is meant than meets the ear, we are to remember that such plays as this gave pleasure at the time when Spenser was at work in Ireland on "The Faerie Queene."

"*Clyomon and Clamydes.*"

Clamydes, son of the King of Suavia, loves Juliana, daughter of the King of Denmark, whose brother Clyomon is away from home on business of knight-errantry. Juliana grieves, on behalf of her sex, that women are eaten daily by a serpent in the Forest of Strange Marvels. She has resolved, therefore, that whoever marries her must buy her with the serpent's head. She gives to Sir Clamydes a Silver Shield, and sends him forth as "the White Knight of the Silver Shield" on that adventure.

Juliana's brother, Clyomon, Knight of the Golden Shield, meets in Suavia the clown Subtle Shift, who says that his name is Knowledge. He is, therefore, taken into service, and sent to Court to hear if any shows or triumphs be afoot. Sir Clyomon's last adventure was the overcoming of the worthy knight of fame, Sir Samuel, in presence of Alexander the Great. It was for this exploit that Alexander gave him his Golden Shield, and asked in vain to know his name; for Clyomon, when quitting Denmark, had vowed to his father that he would not tell his name except it were to a knight who had overcome him. Subtle Shift returns with news. The King of Suavia is about to knight his son Clamydes, who is setting out on his adventures. Clyomon slips in. The words are spoken and the blow is falling that shall make a knight of Clamydes, when Clyomon thrusts in his head, intercepts the blow, and at once goes off. Subtle Shift is

caught, and cannot tell the name of the master who had just taken him into service. As the clown calls himself Knowledge, Clamydes, when he has been duly dubbed, takes him for servant, and goes forth to find and fight the nameless interloper.

Then enter "King Alexander the Great, as valiantly set forth as may be, and as many Lords and soldiers as can." He has a little leisure time in Macedon, and will go sacrifice in the temple of Pallas. Clyomon, who is about to travel to the Court of Alexander, is found by Clamydes and Subtle Shift. Now, Clyomon and Clamydes might fight. But they agree that this is useless in a private place; they must go fight where there is glory to be won. That will be in the presence of Great Alexander and his Court. They will meet there, to fight gloriously, on the fifteenth day next following.

This arrangement gives Clamydes time to go and cut off the serpent's head in the Forest of Marvels. He finds his way to the Forest of Marvels with Subtle Shift, and he does cut off the serpent's head, whereby he qualifies for marriage with the Princess Juliana. But in the forest is an enchanter, Bryan Sans-foy, who, like Subtle Shift, is a very great coward, but who overcomes knights by his magic art. Subtle Shift, who is a kinsman of his, betrays Clamydes to him. The enchanter, Sans-foy, puts the Suavian knight into a ten days' sleep, then has him shut up in prison, after taking from him his clothes and his Silver Shield. Then Bryan Sans-foy puts on the whole semblance of Clamydes, and is prepared to go off with the serpent's head, to claim the Princess Juliana and be married to her.

Subtle Shift, repenting of the wrong done to his master, has got leave from Bryan to be keeper of his prison. At the end of the ten days' sleep, Subtle Shift frees Clamydes, and gives him a sword and target. With these the Knight of the (lost) Silver Shield frees other knights who had been caught in like manner when they came into the Forest of Marvels on like errand with his own, but had not achieved the adventure of the serpent. Subtle Shift now goes about for some time in the play burdened with a load of plunder that he has taken, for solace, to himself, from Bryan Sans-foy's castle. A clown well loaded with impediments made comic business of his own.

In a preceding scene we had seen Clyomon wrecked on the Isle of Strange Marshes, after he had been made very ill on a rough sea. He was found by the Princess Neronis when taking a walk with her ladies. Now we are in the island again, where Neronis is enamoured of the Knight of the Golden Shield, whom she has brought back to health, but who will not tell her his name. Clyomon is enamoured of her.

But Clyomon is overdue for the fight at Alexander's Court. He must go there as soon as he can—will return in sixty days. He goes.

In the next moment we are in Norway, where the king, Thrasellus, tells his courtiers that he must marry Neronis, who is denied to him by her father, Patranius, King of the Isle of Strange Marshes. He will make war against Patranius. His lords say that is dangerous. There is only one landing-place in the island, which is kept by a strong garrison. Let him go as a merchant, entice Neronis on board his ship to see his jewels, and sail off with her. That is what King Thrasellus resolves to do.

Clyomon, on his way to Alexander's Court, meets one of the knights freed from the castle of Bryan Sans-foy. By that chance he learns what had befallen Clamydes. Clyomon is rejoiced that Clamydes also had been made unable to keep his tryst for the fight—

> "And now all dumps of deadly dole that daunted knightly breast
> Adieu, since salve of solace sweet hath sorrows all suppresst."

All dumps adieu, for now Clyomon thinks he is free to go back to Neronis. But stay, methinks he hears Rumour, and then enters "Rumour, running."

Rumour tells that the Princess Neronis has been kidnapped by King Thrasellus disguised as a merchant, that her father, King Patranius, had died of grief at this, and that Mustantius, the king's brother, claims the crown against the widowed queen and her daughter Neronis. Sir Clyomon vows vengeance on Thrasellus, and will snatch Neronis from his arms.

Clamydes, meanwhile, is seeking Clyomon. When he has fulfilled his engagement with him in Macedon, he will go to Denmark for Juliana, and, if he prosper, carry her to Suavia.

After Clamydes has left the stage Neronis enters as boy in a page's dress. She has beguiled Thrasellus and escaped from him. She meets with a coarse old shepherd clown, who talks provincial English. She takes service with that shepherd. They depart, and Thrasellus enters, seeking his lost prize. Now Clyomon comes in, fights him and kills him, but is himself much wounded. Corin re-enters, binds Clyomon's wounds, and fetches him material wherewith to build a trophy. Upon this trophy he hangs his Golden Shield, and writes report of the traitor he has slain. Then he departs to seek Neronis.

Subtle Shift now enters in fine clothes, tells that King Alexander is in the Island of Strange Marshes, where we find that we now are, with no very clear notion as to where we were last. Could it have been in Norway? King Alexander will decide the cause between Mustantius

and the widowed mother of Neronis. Champions are summoned to appear within ten days, and fight the matter out on either side. Mustantius has a champion; for the queen and princess there is none.

Enter Neronis as a shepherd's boy. She sees the trophy with her knight's shield hung over a dead body, thinks her own knight to be dead, and is in such distress that she is on the point of killing herself. "Providence descends" and advises her to read the scroll, which tells her that her knight has slain Thrasellus. She reads it, and goes out rejoicing, just before Clyomon comes in to fetch his shield for combat as the champion of the queen. But he will carry the shield covered. He departs with it, just as Neronis enters again, disguised as a page. She has put away the dress of shepherd's boy, and resumed that courtly attire in which she escaped from the late King of Norway. She wishes to go to the lists and see whether there will be a champion for her mother. Perhaps some knight on the way thither will take her as his page. Clyomon comes in, with his shield covered. He engages her as a page boy. She says she is named *Cœur d'acier*.

Now we see Bryan Sans-foy, with the head of the serpent, waiting to sneak to Denmark under cover of the night, because he is too cowardly to travel by day when there are so many knights-errant about.

Then enters Subtle Shift, with the clown as a whiffler, clearing the way for a royal company which follows. King Alexander enters with the Queen of the Isle of Strange Marshes, Mustantius, two lords, and Clamydes as the champion for Mustantius. There seems to be no champion for the queen, though after the second sounding of the trumpet Clyomon has entered behind as to combat, having with him Neronis disguised as a page. On both sides it is agreed that Alexander shall decide the cause. King Alexander makes a fair division of the Island of Strange Marshes between Mustantius and the widowed queen, but Clyomon then comes forward as champion on the queen's behalf. Clamydes knows him. Clyomon and Clamydes are brought together now before Alexander the Great, and they can fight in his presence, as they had agreed they would.

But Clyomon's vow not to disclose his name is evaded by King Alexander, who says that the Knight of the Golden Shield has not sworn to deny answer to any one who asks what country he is of, and what his rank is. These questions Alexander puts. When Clyomon cannot avoid replying that he is of Denmark and the king's son, he is known for Clyomon. So there is no more ground of quarrel between Clyomon and Clamydes. They are firm friends, and set off to Denmark, brother and lover of the Princess Juliana.

Now we are in Denmark, and see Bryan Sans-foy come in his false guise, bringing the serpent's head. He is welcomed as Sir Clamydes. Neronis enters in her page's dress. She is herald of the coming of Clyomon, and takes the queen away to give her private explanation as to who she is and what has happened. Clyomon then enters with Clamydes and Subtle Shift. Clamydes is regarded as a false pretender. But when Bryan Sans-foy, the false Clamydes, is brought to face him, and when battle shall determine which is which, the cowardice of the enchanter brings him to confession.

So the true Clamydes has his Juliana; Neronis, arrayed by the Queen of Denmark in such robes as suit a maiden, takes her Clyomon for husband. Both pairs are to be married on the same day at the Court of Denmark.

There is much story here, considering the length and feebleness of the rhymed speeches through which it is told. It is useful to us as example, not only of the taste for knightly romance in the days when Spenser wrote "The Faerie Queene," but also of the kind of play Sir Philip Sidney must have often seen, and had in mind when, in his "Apologie for Poetrie," he condemned the shortcomings of our native drama. "For where," he said, "the stage should always represent but one place, and the uttermost time presupposed in it should be, both by Aristotle's precept and common reason, but one day, there is both many days and many places inartificially imagined. But if it be so in Gorboduc, how much more in all the rest? where you shall have Asia of the one side and Afric of the other, and so many other under kingdoms that the player when he cometh in must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived. Now ye shall have three ladies walk to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By and by we heare news of a shipwreck in the same place, and then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rock. Upon the back of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave. While, in

the meantime, two armies fly in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard heart will not receive it for a pitched field?" Sidney knew nothing of an art above that of the ancients, which was yet to come. He saw plays that he rightly condemned for want of art—"inartificially imagined"—in which, as in "Clyomon and Clamydes," the persons of the story are now in Denmark, now in Suabia, now in Norway, now in Macedonia, or in uncertain latitudes of an Island of Strange Marshes and a Forest of Strange Wonders; where a princess like Neronis walks with ladies in her garden, extends her walk to a supposed shore where we had seen a man tumble in, after great noises outside as of sailors in danger of shipwreck. Sidney heard this kind of action constantly associated with crude rhymes of impossible dialogue, in which the lines were eked out with mere verbiage. Says Clyomon, when all comes right at last—

> "O sudden joy! O heavenly sight! O words more worth than gold!
> Neronis, O my dear, welcóme! my arms I here unfold
> To clasp thy comely corpse withal: twice-welcome to thy knight!
> *Neronis.* And I so joyful am, no doubt, my Clyomon, of thy happy sight."

Peele wrote with the grace of a poet, which is usually wanting in this play, but there is more definite evidence against its authorship in tricks of diction. The habit of adding a pronoun to a noun is a marked characteristic of the writer of "Clyomon and Clamydes." "Juliana she," "Neronis she," "Venus she," "Fortune she," "Clamydes he," "the King of Norway he," "Do never view thy father I in presence any more," are forms of diction common throughout all this piece, and never used in the known writings of Peele. "Perstand," for "understand,"

is a word used in this play at least three times, and never found in a play known to be Peele's.*

Christopher Marlowe was baptised at the church of Saint George the Martyr, Canterbury, on the twenty-sixth of February, 1564. His birth-year was the same as Shakespeare's, and the difference of age between them made Marlowe the elder by two months. Shakespeare was baptised on the twenty-sixth of April. Christopher Marlowe.

Marlowe's father was a shoemaker, and clerk of Saint Mary's. In the Chamberlain's accounts at Canterbury there were entered the apprenticeships to freemen and the marriages to freemen's daughters, by which qualification for the freedom of the city was obtained. They record admission to the freedom, in April, 1593, of John Marlowe's apprentice (shoemaker) Will. Hewes. They record also admissions of John Crauforde, a shoemaker, by right of marriage with Anne, daughter of John Marlowe, shoemaker; and of Thomas Graddell, a vintner, who had married Dorothy, daughter of John Marlowe, shoemaker.†

* For a full study of this play, see *Englische Studien*, xiii., 187–229 (1889). "Sir Clyomon und Sir Clamydes, Ein romantisches Schauspiel des 16 Jahrhunderts," by Leon Kellner.

† Information obtained by Mr. A. H. Bullen from Mr. J. B. Sheppard, keeper of the records to Canterbury Cathedral, and given by Mr. Bullen in his edition of the Works of Marlowe, 3 vols. 8vo. (1884). Mr. A. H. Bullen has edited also Peele and Middleton, besides "A Collection of Old English Plays" in four volumes (1882-5), containing in all sixteen plays, of which six were never before printed. He has distinguished himself also as a judicious editor of the poems of the Elizabethan period. Mr. A. H. Bullen has not only taken great pains to verify accepted facts, and made trustworthy additions to them, but he shows care and sound judgment in dealing with the texts he publishes. He weighs evidence, and is wise enough to walk on solid ground, shunning the Island of Strange Marshes trod by critics of a rash and positive opinion.

Christopher Marlowe was sent, as a freeman's son, to the King's School, Canterbury. His name is not in the Treasurer's accounts for 1575-6 or 1576-7. The accounts for 1577-8 are lost. He is named in the accounts for the four quarters from Michaelmas, 1578, to Michaelmas, 1579, as receiving an exhibition of one pound a quarter, paid "Xrofero Marley." The record for 1579-80 is missing, and it was on the seventeenth of March, 1581, at the age of seventeen, that Marlowe matriculated as a pensioner of Benet (now Corpus Christi) College, Cambridge. He was entered in the Cambridge Matriculation Book as "Chrof. Marlen, Pensioner," and in the college books without his Christian name, as "Marlin." The Christian name at Benet College was, by a special custom, entered with the surname only in the case of scholars. It is probable, therefore, that Christopher Marlowe had not been nominated to one of the two scholarships, of £3 6s. 8d. each, founded at that college by Archbishop Matthew Parker for boys born in Kent and educated at the King's School, Canterbury. Mr. Dyce has suggested that young Marlowe received help from Roger Manwood, a generous magnate of Canterbury. Manwood was son of a draper at Sandwich, and rose in the law till he became, in 1572, a Justice of the Common Pleas; in 1578 he was knighted, and made Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He had a great house at St. Stephen's, near Canterbury, founded a free school in his native town, was liberal in benefactions to the parish and church of St. Stephen's, and after his death, in December, 1592, Marlowe, who lived only through another half-year, wrote a Latin epitaph* upon him, if we may trust

* Twelve lines, *In obitum honoratissimi viri, Rogeri Manwood, Militis, Quæstorii Reginalis Capitalis Baronis*, first printed by John Payne Collier in the "History of the English Stage" prefixed to the first volume of his edition of Shakespeare. John Payne Collier died in 1883, at the age of ninety-four, after a long life devoted to the fruitful study of English literature, most of it well spent, in the time when such students were

the transcript of it, with his name added as author, on the back of a title-page of a copy of the 1629 edition of "Hero and Leander."

Marlowe took the degree of B.A. at Cambridge in 1583, and of M.A. in 1587, being entered in the Grace Book of the University for his B.A. as Marlyn, for his M.A. as Marley. He probably wrote while at Cambridge his version of the three books of Ovid's *Amores*, first published with epigrams by John Davies, without date.* His translation shows unripened power, and contains not only weak passages but also bad mistakes, as when, in the first elegy of the second book, Marlowe translated *Carmine dissiliunt abruptis faucibus angues*, "Snakes leap by verse from caves of broken Mountains"; and when, in the thirteenth elegy of the same book, he turned the *Gallica turma* of the Galli, or priests of Cybele, into Frenchmen; or when, in the tenth elegy of the third book, he confused singing with whitening to harvest, *cāneo* with *căno*, and translated *Ipse locus nemorum canebat frugibus Idæ*, "Ida, the seat of groves, did sing with corn." But although Marlowe did not distinguish himself at Cambridge by his scholarship, he put a poet's mind into his reading, and had his genius quickened by lively fellowship with comrades who, in a great University, build up a living mirror of some part of the outer world, with all its features brightened by

Elegies from Ovid.

very few. His services were great, but his credit was impaired by association of his name with spurious documents and modern interpolations in old papers, especially with very many would-be contemporary corrections of the text of Shakespeare, painted over modern pencil-marks in imitation of an old handwriting, on a folio of 1632. This has thrown suspicion on the whole or part of every new MS. of Mr. Collier's finding, and it blots, although it does not cancel, the long record of strenuous work in aid of the study of our literature, continued through the lifetime of two generations.

* "Epigrammes and Elegies by I. D. and C. M. At Middleborugh" (12mo).

reflection from the frank minds of the young. No man who lives among the fields can be a dramatist till he has seen the play of life where there is full resort of men. Marlowe went from Cambridge to London at the age of about twenty-two—author at once of the most successful play of the year 1586 or 1587, in which it was produced. Shakespeare went at the same age and the same time from Stratford to London, and was not known as dramatist until he had seen much of life in the great city.

Nearly all the playwrights, in 1586-7, were young men who had been trained at the Universities, where they had made their mark as poets and had many friends ready to warrant them. Shakespeare, in that respect, had all his friends to find. He was not, like a popular young University man, upon the royal road to trust among the players. But if Marlowe had advantage over Shakespeare in immediate and great success, Shakespeare drew from his years of study in the great city not only a full knowledge of life, but wisdom in the apprehension of it, with a sympathetic insight into character to which no other man who ever lived—save only Chaucer—has made close approach.

The first extant edition of "Tamburlaine" was printed, like the other old editions of it, without author's name, in 1589. The play was produced on the stage in 1586 or 1587. We shall find it spoken of as a known play in 1588, if not in 1587. That Marlowe wrote it was the common opinion of his time, irresistibly supported by internal evidence, and ever since accepted without question, except in a vain suggestion by Malone that Nash might have been its author.

"Tamburlaine."

The story of Tamburlaine was known in Marlowe's time to English readers from a book published in 1571, of which there was a second edition published by John Day in 1576, "The Foreste, or Collection of Histories, no lesse profitable then pleasant and necessarie, dooen out of Frenche

into Englishe by Thomas Fortescue." This was a version, through French, of a much-translated Spanish *Silva* published at Sevile in 1543 by Pedro Mexia. When young Marlowe chose the career of Timur as the subject of his first play, he read also a Latin "Life of the Great Tamerlane," by Perondinus, published at Florence in 1553, which followed Mexia, but added some details from other sources.*

The theme, like the grievance of Mycetes, with which it opened, required "a great and thundering speech," and Marlowe did not, like Mycetes, find himself "insufficient to express the same." The old British public had enjoyed for centuries, in Herod of the miracle plays, the character of a pompous braggart, who could rant well. In one of the sets of plays Herod's speeches were crowded with words that began with "r," for greater convenience of r-r-rolling them well in his mouth.† Marlowe gave them a Tamburlaine who could out-herod Herod, and he roared Marlowe into sudden fame. The desire, indeed, was so great to hear him roar, that Marlowe let him roar again, and maintained his success by the production of a "Second Part of Tamburlaine." The two parts were first printed in 1590, without author's name. These plays were founded on the story of Tamerlane, or Timour the Tartar, a Scythian shepherd who, after leading his countrymen to their own deliverance from foreign oppression, was crowned at Samarcand in 1370, and presently set forth on a career of conquest. He invaded Persia, took Bagdad, spread fear of his arms as far as Moscow, entered India, made triumphant entry into Delhi, attacked, after return to Samarcand, the great Ottoman Sultan Bajazet, and in 1402, after a famous battle, made Bajazet his prisoner. He had set forth in winter

* See an excellent letter by Professor C. H. Herford and Dr. Albrecht Wagner, in *The Academy* for October 20th, 1883, and the Introduction to Dr. Wagner's edition of "Tamburlaine." Heilbronn. 1885.

† "E. W." iv. 110.

weather, at the age of seventy, for the addition of China to his conquests, when he died, in 1405. In the embodiment of this notion of an all-devouring conqueror, "the scourge of God," Marlowe used the blank verse which had not then secured its footing on the public stage. Our first tragedy was in that new measure; but it was written for Christmas entertainment at the Inner Temple. Blank verse was used in the last two acts of "The Arraignment of Paris"; but that was written for the queen and Court. The plays for the public were in prose or rhyme, till the prologue of "Tamburlaine" said to the people—

> "From jigging veins of rhyming mother wits,
> And such conceits as clownage keeps in pay,
> We'll lead you to the stately tent of war,
> Where you shall hear the Scythian Tamburlaine
> Threaten the world with high astounding terms,
> And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword."

Marlowe, by his "Tamburlaine," and by the better plays which followed it, developed blank verse as the measure for English dramatic poetry, made its worth felt, and was among dramatists the first cause of its general adoption. The first line of his Prologue declared war against the use of rhyme in plays; his second line banished the fooling of the clown. He remained true to his faith in both respects, though he could not prevent the players from inserting clown scenes in his "Faustus," because they had been part of the original story, and the public looked for them.

"Tamburlaine" is rant glorified. It was enjoyed even by those who laughed at it. The boldest stroke was in the opening of the third scene of the Fourth Act of Part II.: "Enter Tamburlaine, drawn in his carriage by the Kings of Trebizon and Soria with bits in their mouths, reins in his left hand, and in his right hand a whip with which he scourgeth them"—

"'Holla, ye pampered jades of Asia!
What! can ye draw but twenty miles a day,
And have so proud a chariot at your heels,
And such a coachman as great Tamburlaine?'"

This was the hero of Marlowe's first play. He might strut and fume and utter grand extravagance, to the delight of the spectators who saw him first in shepherd's dress and watched his rise to be the Scourge of Kings. Both Parts of "Tamburlaine" are stories of war and conquest, and of the growing pride of a successful warrior. The only gentler interest in the First Part arises from the love of Tamburlaine to his captive, the daughter of the Soldan of Egypt, whom he has chosen for his bride before he besieges her father in Damascus. His custom is on the first day of a siege to march in white, on the second day in red, on the third day in black. If a besieged king yield to the white tents,

"So shall he have his life, and all the rest;
But if he stay until the bloody flag
Be once advanced on my vermilion tent,
He dies, and those who keep us out so long:
And when they see me march in black array,
With mournful streamers hanging down their heads,
Were in that city all the world contained,
Not one should 'scape, but perish by our swords."

He is detained until the day of "black array" before Damascus. Interest, therefore, centres in the question, How will the pitiless warrior deal with the father and the kindred of his chosen bride? The first part of the play ends with the triumph of his love. He suffers Zenocrate to free her father, and then crowns her as his queen. This feminine interest is wholly of Marlowe's invention. In the story of which he dramatises selected incidents, Timour's wife was a Bactrian of no interest. By making her the daughter of the Soldan, he secured for her a chief part in the action. In the second part of the play, called from Marlowe by the

great success of the first, the setting forth of the career of conquest is continued, the death of Zenocrate being the only softer theme. The play ends with the death of Tamburlaine, who, with pride of success, defies the gods, becomes "blaspheming Tamburlaine," and rises to the topmost height of boastfulness.

History of the Faustus Legend.

The legend of Dr. Faustus had been gathered, in 1587, about recent traditions of a real person, who is said to have died in the year 1538. The book, published in 1587 at Frankfort-on-the-Main, which first gave to Europe the history of Dr. Faustus, attracted wide attention, and was immediately fastened upon by Marlowe as good matter for a play, which seems to have been written in 1588.

Contemporary notices of the original Faustus are not wanting.

The learned Trithemius, Abbot of Spanheim, in a letter of the twentieth of August, 1507, mentioned Magister Georgius Sabellicus, Faustus junior, as a pretender to magic, met with at Gelnhausen.

Conrad Mudt, Latinised Mutianus Rufus—a friend of Melanchthon and Reuchlin, whom Luther praised for his culture and who died in 1526—wrote on the third of October, 1513, from Erfurth, of the visit paid to that town a few days before by Georgius Faustus Hemitheus Hedibergensis, as a braggart and a fool who affected magic, whom he had heard talking in a tavern, and who had raised the theologians against him.

Under the date 1525, there is recorded in Vogel's "Annals of Leipzig" (published in 1714) Dr. Johann Faust's visit to the Auerbach cellar, and there is this date over one of the two pictures in the cellar showing (1) how Faustus rode out into the street on one of its casks of wine, and (2) how he regaled the students with the wine so carried off.

In the year 1539, Dr. Philip Begardi, in a book called

"Index Sanitatis," speaks of the vast reputation of one Faustus for skill in physic and magic, and of many people who had complained to Begardi that Faustus had swindled them. But, he adds, what matter? *Hin ist hin*—gone is gone. This comment may possibly refer to Faust as dead and not worth saying any more about (tradition made his death-year 1538), but it may also mean that it is of no use for the cheated to complain of losses they will not recover —that it is of no use to cry over spilt milk. Doubtless about this time Faustus must have died; for in the undated second volume of Table Talk ("Convivialium Sermonum") by the Protestant theologian, Johann Gast (the first volume was published in 1543), there are stories of Faustus as dead. Here also we first read that his body after death would not lie with its face to heaven, but five times, when so placed, turned itself face downward, and that the devil took him.

In 1561 the great naturalist, Conrad Gesner, writing to a friend on the sixteenth of August, referred to Faustus as a famous conjurer who died "not long ago."

In 1562 Johann Mennel—Latinised Manlius—published at Basel a Common-place Book ("Locorum Communium Collectanea") of notes taken during many years, chiefly of what he had heard in conversations with Melanchthon, and also of things told to him by various learned men. He ascribed to Melanchthon stories about Faustus, whom he had known. This Faustus was born at Kundling (Knittlingen, a frontier town of Würtemberg), not far from his own native town of Bretten, in Baden. Faustus, Melanchthon said, studied at Cracow, and learnt magic, which was openly taught there. It was, indeed, according to the views then held of the secrets of nature, a liberal science in the eyes of many advanced thinkers of the sixteenth century, who never aimed at trading on the ignorant with vain pretensions. Afterwards, said Melanchthon to Mennel,

Faustus roamed about, and he was at a village inn in Würtemberg when he was taken by the devil.

In 1587, Philip Camerarius, son of a close friend of Melanchthon's, writing a book of small talk which was not published until 1602, told of Faust as a well-known magician who lived "in the time of our fathers."

In 1587, on the eighteenth of April, two students of the University of Tübingen were imprisoned for writing a comedy of Faustus. In autumn of the same year there appeared at the book fair of Frankfort-on-the-Main the German book from which all subsequent versions of the Faustus legend have descended. Its author was strongly Protestant, probably a pastor, and he made Faustus the hero of any stories of magic, serious or comic, that could be added to the popular tradition of his life and death, for the purpose of giving wide popularity to a lesson against pride of knowledge and presumption towards God, or of helping to bring into contempt "the Pope, that Pagan full of pride." The book was at once fastened upon by many readers. A metrical version of it into English was licensed by Aylmer, Bishop of London, before the end of the year. In 1588 there was a rhymed version of it into German, also a translation into Low German, and a new edition of the original with some slight changes. In 1589 there appeared a version of the first German Faust book into French, by Victor Palma Cayet. The English prose version was made from the second edition of the original, that of 1588, and is undated, but probably was made at once. There was a revised edition of it in 1592. In 1592 there was a Dutch translation from the second German edition. This gives the time of the carrying off of Faustus by the devil as the night between the twenty-third and twenty-fourth of October, 1538. The English version also gives 1538 as the year, and it is a date, as we have seen, consistent with trustworthy references to his actual life.

Marlowe's play was probably written in 1588, soon after the original story had found its way to England. He treated the legend as a poet, bringing out with all his power its central thought—man in the pride of knowledge turning from his God. The voices of his good and evil angel in the ear of Faustus, the one bidding him repent and hope, the other bidding him despair, were devised by Marlowe himself for the better painting of a soul within the toils of Satan; and the beautiful scene in which an old man seeks to warn Faustus was developed into poetry out of a very trivial incident in the original. The popularity of the subject caused the piece to be very freely dealt with by the players; and although in the published version the clown scenes bear a smaller proportion to the whole than in the original story, there can be no doubt that the appetite of the many for "such conceits as clownage keeps in pay" had led to a large addition of matter of this kind which Marlowe himself had avoided. He has no clown in any other play. There was evidence of more change in the next printed edition, that of 1616. There were other editions in 1624 and 1631, and one in 1663, spoilt by much later changes and additions.

Marlowe's "Tragical History of Doctor Faustus" most likely appeared on the stage in 1589, though there is no proof that it was acted before Marlowe died. It was not printed until 1604, in an edition of which the only known copy (from the library of Edmund Malone) is now in the Bodleian. The hero was, as we have seen, really a man who affected pre-eminence in necromancy, astrology, and magic, and took as one of his names "Faustus," for its meaning—favourable, or auspicious. About him, as a centre of crystallisation, tales first ascribed to other conjurers arranged themselves, and so he became the popular ideal of one who sought to sound the depths of this world's knowledge and enjoyment, without help from God. But in the

religious controversies of the sixteenth century the connection between Faustus and Satan associated this legend in the minds of ardent Reformers with the Church of Rome; and when, in 1587, there appeared at Frankfort, written with a strong Protestant feeling, the first elaborated "History of Dr. Faustus," told as a terrible example to all high-flying, headstrong, and godless men, it gathered about Faustus more old tales of magic, and was so popular that it was reprinted in 1588. From this edition of 1588 an English story-book of Dr. Faustus was translated. This book Marlowe also translated in his nobler way, taking the plot of his play either from the German original or from the first English translation, perhaps while it was yet in hand.

"*The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus.*"

Marlowe, in telling this tale on the stage, made no division into acts. Using the chorus as narrator of any part of a tale that was not to be shown or told during the action, Marlowe first brought in Chorus to tell how Faustus was born of poor parents, at Rhodes, in Germany, taught at Wittenberg, made Doctor of Divinity, and excelled in all dispute—

> "Till swoln with cunning of a self conceit,
> His waxen wings did mount above his reach,
> And melting, heavens conspired his overthrow."

He turned to magic—"And this the man that in his study sits." Chorus then left the audience to hear Faustus condemn each of the sciences in turn, discard the Bible, and swell with desire for the magician's power, stretching as far as doth the mind of man. The people saw his good and evil angels stand beside him, as he heard one warn, the other tempt. They saw him yield himself to Valdes and Cornelius, to be taught magic arts; saw Mephistophiles appear to his incantation in his own natural ugliness, but, at Faust's bidding, reappear in the shape of a Franciscan Friar. Compelled to answer, Mephistophiles spoke truth. The people heard Faustus disdain the fear of God—

> "But leaving the vain trifles of men's souls,
> Tell me what is that Lucifer thy lord?
> *Meph.* Arch-regent and commander of all spirits.

Faust. Was not that Lucifer an angel once?
Meph. Yes, Faustus, and most dearly-loved of God.
Faust. How comes it, then, that he is prince of devils?
Meph. Oh, by aspiring pride and insolence,
For which God threw him from the face of heaven.
Faust. And what are you that live with Lucifer?
Meph. Unhappy spirits that fell with Lucifer,
Conspired against our God with Lucifer,
And are for ever damned with Lucifer.
Faust. How comes it, then, that thou art out of hell?
Meph. Why this is hell, nor am I out of it;
Think'st thou that I, that saw the face of God,
And tasted the eternal joys of heaven,
Am not tormented with ten thousand hells
In being deprived of everlasting bliss?
O Faustus, leave these frivolous demands
Which strike a terror to my fainting soul.
Faust. What! Is great Mephistophiles so passionate
For being deprivéd of the joys of heaven?
Learn then of Faustus manly fortitude,
And scorn those joys thou never shalt possess."

Boldly Faustus sends an offer of his soul to Lucifer, for four-and-twenty years of his own will. At midnight he expects the answer. Midnight approaches, and again his good and evil angels speak at either ear. The guardian angel's voice is heard in vain. The bond is signed with blood stabbed from the arm. Upon the first hour of its enjoyment a touch of repentance breaks. Again his good angel pleads with him; his evil angel seeks to harden him against the warning voice. His heart is hardened; he cannot repent. He questions Mephistophiles upon the heavenly spheres, and he is answered. He asks, "Who made the world?" and his familiar will not tell. Again comes the pang of conscience. He cries to himself, "Think, Faustus, upon God who made the world!"

"*Re-enter* Good Angel *and* Evil Angel.

"*E. Ang.* Too late.
G. Ang. Never too late, if Faustus will repent.
E. Ang. If thou repent, devils will tear thee in pieces.
G. Ang. Repent, and they shall never raze thy skin.
[*Exeunt* Angels.
Faust. O Christ, my Saviour, my Saviour,
Help thou to save distresséd Faustus' soul!"

But Lucifer and Beelzebub now stand with Mephistophiles before him; hold him to his bond; will show him pastime. They introduce to him the seven deadly sins. Chorus explains now to the people that we shall see Faustus next at Rome, and straightway the pomp of the Court of Rome is marshalled out for mockery. Pope Adrian in supreme pride ascends his chair, by using for a footstool Saxon Bruno, whom the Emperor appointed. Adrian will depose the Emperor, and curse his people. Then Faustus and Mephistophiles beguile him in his policy; scatter confusion in his Court; snatch, being invisible, his dishes and his cup; box his ears; and beat the friars, who come in with bell, book, and candle to sing maledictions on them. Other scenes follow to represent incidents in the life for which a soul was paid. Touches of farce lie by the tragic scenes. Then Faustus is in his study again. His end is near. To some of his scholars he shows a fair vision of Helen. They depart. An old man enters who, with loving words, warns Faustus of his peril. Faustus despairs. Mephistophiles gives him a dagger. "Oh, stay!" cries the old man—

> "Oh, stay, good Faustus, stay thy desperate steps;
> I see an angel hover o'er thy head,
> And with a vial full of precious grace
> Offers to pour the same into thy soul:
> Then call for mercy, and avoid despair."

He repents, yet he despairs; he cannot escape from the toils of Mephistophiles. Helen is brought to him between Cupids. He leaves the stage worshipping her, and then the thunder rolls; the Powers of Evil enter, and from the background Lucifer and Beelzebub keep grim watch over their victim. With changed looks Faustus parts from his scholars, and they leave him to his last agony on earth. The poet makes its horror felt. The good and evil angels speak again. His good angel sets before him and the audience, while music sounds, a vision of the heavenly throne among the saints, which he has forfeited. His evil angel then sets before him and the audience a vision of that "vast perpetual torture-house" to which he goes—

> "Those that are fed with sops of flaming fire
> Were gluttons, and loved only delicates,
> And laughed to see the poor starve at their gates.
> But yet all these are nothing; thou shalt see
> Ten thousand tortures that more horrid be.
> *Faust.* Oh, I have seen enough to torture me!
> *E. Ang.* Nay, thou must feel them, taste the smart of all;
> He that loves pleasure must for pleasure fall."

The clock strikes eleven, and the terror of the last hour is then painted. In language drawn from Scripture, Faustus cries in his despair—

> "Mountains and hills, come, come, and fall on me!
> And hide me from the heavy wrath of heaven!
> No!
> Then will I run headlong into the earth.
> Gape earth! Oh, no, it will not harbour me!"

The terror grows, and the clock strikes the half-hour. Faustus now cries in his anguish—

> "Cursed be the parents that engendered me!
> No, Faustus, curse thyself, curse Lucifer
> That hath deprived thee of the joys of heaven."

The clock strikes twelve, and the audience sees the terrible fulfilment of the bond.

The grave personage who, as Chorus, had withdrawn the curtain, then enters to draw it again, saying—

> "Cut is the branch that might have grown full straight,
> And burnéd is Apollo's laurel bough
> That some time grew within this learnéd man.
> Faustus is gone; regard his hellish fall,
> Whose fiendful fortune may exhort the wise
> Only to wonder at unlawful things
> Whose deepness doth entice such forward wits
> To practise more than heavenly power permits."

Thus Marlowe in his first two plays set forth the ruin of a human pride that turns away from God. "Blaspheming Tamburlaine" was not the work of a blaspheming poet. It was a picture of the pride of self-dependent fleshly power and its vanity, as Faustus was a picture of the pride of self-dependent intellect, commending in its epilogue a simple trust in God. Depths of religious feeling were stirred when this was the new play, and the last great event in the real world had been the defeat of the Spanish Armada.

CHAPTER VIII.

EARLIER YEARS OF FRANCIS BACON—NOVELS AND PAMPHLETS—THE MARPRELATE CONTROVERSY.

FRANCIS BACON, three years and three months older than William Shakespeare, was the son of Queen Elizabeth's Lord Keeper, Sir Nicholas Bacon, and was born in London, at York House, in the Strand, on the twenty-second of January, 1561. Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, and Sir Nicholas Bacon, married two daughters of Sir Anthony Cooke. The sister, Anne, married by Sir Nicholas, was his second wife. She was an educated woman, with strong religious feeling, who took deep interest in the reformation of the Church, and inclined to the Puritan side in later questions of its internal policy. It was she who translated Jewel's "Apology" into English.* Sir Nicholas Bacon had by his former wife six children, and by his second wife two, Anthony and Francis. Anthony was two years older than Francis, who was thus the youngest of eight in a household living sometimes in London, at York House, sometimes at Gorhambury, near St. Albans. In April, 1573, when Anthony was fourteen and Francis twelve, the two boys were entered as fellow-commoners at Trinity College, Cambridge. Anthony was always in weak health; when he went to college his eyesight was in danger, and through his after-life he was lame. Of Francis Bacon's career at college, ending in his sixteenth

Francis Bacon.

* "E. W." viii. 201, 202.

year, we have only two notes. They are from Dr. William Rawley, his chaplain of after-days. One is that Queen Elizabeth "delighted much then to confer with him, and to prove him with questions; unto which he delivered himself with that gravity and maturity above his years, that Her Majesty would often term him 'the young Lord Keeper.' Being asked by the queen how old he was, he answered with much discretion, being then but a boy, 'That he was two years younger than Her Majesty's happy reign;' with which answer the queen was much taken." The other record is this: "Whilst he was commorant in the University, about sixteen years of age (as his lordship hath been pleased to impart unto myself), he first fell into the dislike of the philosophy of Aristotle; not for the worthlessness of the author, to whom he would ascribe all high attributes, but for the unfruitfulness of the way; being a philosophy (as his lordship used to say) only strong for disputations and contentions, but barren of the production of works for the benefit of the life of man; in which mind he continued to his dying day."

Anthony and Francis Bacon, who were to be trained for diplomatic life, were, as sons of a judge, admitted ancients at Gray's Inn in June, 1576. In the following September Sir Amyas Paulet went to Paris to succeed Dr. Dale as English ambassador, and Francis Bacon went with him as one of his suite, to begin in France his training to diplomacy.

Those were in France the first days of the League. Charles IX. died within two years after the Massacre of St. Bartholomew. His brother, the Duke of Anjou, licentious and effeminate, became king, as Henry III. In February, 1575, the Huguenots, under the Prince of Condé, signed a league with the liberal Catholics, under the Marshal de Damville. The Duke of Alençon also joined the insurgents in the south; and in 1576 Henry of Navarre,

afterwards to be Henry IV., escaped from the surveillance of Catherine and joined the conflict. Full concession to the Reformers was extorted, and obtained in May, 1576. This roused the Catholics. Seeing what had been done by the strength of one league, they resolved upon a combination of their own; and Henry, the young Duke of Guise, who was now leader of the Catholics, organised, by means of the association of the clergy and Jesuits throughout the country, a great Catholic League, which in a few months enrolled thirty thousand members. It was a confederation to maintain the Church in its old form, the king's authority, and that of the head of the league, by whose ambition the king's authority was threatened. This league was just formed when Francis Bacon, a youth of sixteen, was first in Paris with Sir Amyas Paulet. He was in the summer and autumn of 1577 with Sir Amyas in the French Court at Poitiers.

After a little more than two years of this training in France to diplomatic life, there came a cloud over the prospects of Bacon, in the year 1579. In the February of that year his father died, after a few days' illness, before completing the provision he had meant to make for the younger son by his second marriage. Anthony succeeded to much of his father's landed property, with the reversion of Gorhambury after his mother's death. A son by the first marriage disputed unsuccessfully the large provision made for Anthony, who lived chiefly in France for the next twelve years, making himself useful to his uncle Burghley. Francis Bacon, eighteen years old at the time of his father's death, came to London at the end of March, with commendations to the queen from Sir Amyas Paulet, and settled down at Gray's Inn to study of the law as a profession.

In 1579, then, we have Spenser, aged about twenty-seven, publishing his first book, "The Shepheardes Calender;" Lyly, aged twenty-five or twenty-six, publishing

"Euphues;" Bacon, aged eighteen, thrown on his own resources by his father's death, is beginning study of law as the profession by which he must live: and Shakespeare, aged fifteen, is eldest of a family of young children in a household that begins to feel the pinch of poverty.

On the twenty-seventh of June, 1582, Francis Bacon was admitted an utter barrister, and about this time, aged twenty-one, sketched briefly in a Latin tract called *Temporis Partus Maximus* ("The Greatest Birth of Time") the first notion of his philosophy. In November, 1584, Bacon took his seat in the House of Commons as member for Melcombe Regis, in Dorsetshire. In the next Parliament, which met in October, 1586, he sat for Taunton, and was one of those who presented a petition for the speedy execution of Mary Queen of Scots. This petition followed upon the public discovery of Anthony Babington's conspiracy in August, 1586, and his execution on the twentieth of September. Young Babington came of age, and inherited large estates, at the time of the execution of Edmund Campion, in 1582. He became the active spirit of a secret society for bringing about an insurrection of Roman Catholics in England, which was to begin with the assassination of Elizabeth and her chief counsellors, and the liberation of Mary Queen of Scots. With the secret plot there went, from the first, secret betrayal. Sir Francis Walsingham allowed it to go on, watching carefully. The King of Spain promised support after the assassination. Babington wrote, on the twelfth of July, 1586, a long letter to Mary Queen of Scots, detailing his plans, to which she replied five days later, thinking well of them and desiring more details. That letter was no forgery of Walsingham's. Babington himself, before his execution, disclosed the cipher used in it. Account of the plot sent to Philip of Spain by the Spanish ambassador in Paris, Bernardino de Mendoza, is in the

Execution of Mary Queen of Scots.

archives of Simancas, with many notes upon it in the handwriting of Philip. Queen Mary was then in charge of Sir Amyas Paulet, the chief under whom Bacon had served in Paris. Sir Amyas had succeeded Sir Ralph Sadler in his charge of Mary at Tutbury Castle in March, 1585, with charge afterwards at Chartley and at Fotheringay. He was a Puritan, with strong personal dislike of Mary, and strict in his dealings with her, though his household accounts show abundance of material supplies. The custody of Queen Mary was stricter after her complicity in Babington's conspiracy was known, and a letter from Elizabeth to Sir Amyas Paulet, thanking him "for his most troublesome duty so well discharged," bids him "let the wicked murderess know how her vile deserts compel these orders." Her guards had orders to shoot her if she was found attempting to escape.

Babington's conspiracy was fatal to Mary Queen of Scots. She was brought to trial in September, 1586, and sentenced on the twenty-fifth of October. Her death-warrant was not signed by Elizabeth until the first of February, 1587, and she was executed on the eighth.

Elizabeth sought peace, but the Pope was bent on war. Sixtus V. made over England to King Philip II. of Spain. He had only to take possession—that was all.

Defeat of the Spanish Armada.

The Invincible Armada was prepared. The Marquis of Santa Cruz as admiral by sea, the Duke of Parma, general of the invading land forces, were to direct the conquest. At the end of July, 1588, the Armada was first seen from the Lizard, advancing in form of a crescent, seven miles from point to point. Lord Howard of Effingham, a loyal Roman Catholic—and the main body of the English Roman Catholics was loyal—had command of the fleet of English vessels, only thirty of them ships of the line. But the English ships were manned by nine thousand seamen who all knew their work. Drake and

Frobisher were among their leaders. The small, well handled vessels danced behind the great galleons of the Spaniards, pouring broadsides into them and escaping the return shot readily. When the Spaniards put into Calais harbour, where they had hoped to ship the forces of the Prince of Parma, fire-ships followed them. When, to escape this danger, they put to sea again, their great galleons were again shattered by the English broadsides. Many ships and four thousand men were lost, in six hours of such fighting. Other ships were drifting upon sand-banks on the coast of Holland, and on both sides the supply of gunpowder was failing. The shattered force of Spain then sought to escape by sailing round the Orkneys, where storms drove vessel after vessel on the cruel shore. Fifty-four ships were all that found their way back home, with distressed crews, who spread terrible tales of English seamen and of English seas. Queen Elizabeth, like Shakespeare's Henry V., gave God the glory, and inscribed on the medal that commemorated the defeat of the Armada, *Deus flavit, et dissipati sunt.*

Shakespeare, not yet twenty-five years old, had been a year or two in London when the queen, with her sea-captains about her, went in state to Saint Paul's, on Sunday, the twenty-fourth of November, to join the worship through which in all churches of England there were then offered "public and general thanks unto God, with all devotion and inward affection of heart and humbleness."

For provision against future dangers from the King of Spain, a new Parliament was summoned, which first met on the fourth of February, 1589. Bacon sat in it as member for Liverpool, active in public affairs, and wrote, to be read privately by those who might use influence for peace, a wise paper of his own called "An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England."* Its topic was the Marprelate

Bacon in 1589.

* It was not printed until 1640, when the controversy was again in a

Controversy, presently to be described, and it contained the germ of his essay "Of Unity in Religion." In October, 1589, there was given to Bacon the reversion of the office of Clerk of the Council in the Star Chamber, with £1,600 or £2,000 a year, and the further advantage that its work was done by deputy. But for this he had twenty years to wait. The holder of it lived till 1608. If such an office had fallen to him early in life, Bacon might possibly have given up his career as a lawyer, and devoted himself wholly to the working out of his philosophy.

All was not strife. The year of the Spanish Armada was, in France, the year of the second edition of Montaigne's Essays, with addition of thirteen new essays forming the third book, four years before their author's death. In England Robert Greene was producing novels still, in 1588 and 1589. The son of Mary Queen of Scots, James VI. of Scotland, produced in the Armada year "Ane Fruitful Meditation" on Revelations xx. 7-10, and had already produced, in 1585, at the age of nineteen, "The Essayes of an Apprentice in the Divine Art of Poesie."*

Another Elizabethan book upon the art of verse was by George Puttenham—"The Art of English Poesie, in Three Books; the first of Poets and Poesye, the second of Proportion, and the third of Ornamente"—written about 1585, and published in the spring of 1589. The author, who cited a dozen other works of his own which are lost, was born about 1530, had been a scholar at Oxford, had delighted in verse and written it, had seen the Courts of France, Spain, Italy, and the Empire, and was skilled in French, Italian, and Spanish, as well as in Greek and Latin. There was no author's name

Puttenham's "Art of English Poesie."

white heat. Then it appeared as a separate pamphlet. Dr. Rawley included it in 1657 in the "Resuscitatio," and it was printed again as a separate pamphlet in 1663.

* "E. W." ix. 183, 184.

on the title-page of his book; but as early as 1605 it was said to be by George Puttenham, one of the queen's gentlemen pensioners. The book is a systematic little treatise of some extent, dealing with the origin and nature of poetry; its several forms, as satire, comedy, tragedy, etc.; its several metres and proportions, including the various ways of writing verse in shapes, as the lozenge, or rhombus; the fuzie spindle, or rhomboides; the triangle, or tricquet; the square; the pillar, pilaster, or cylinder; taper, or piramis; rondel, or sphere; egg, or figure oval; with many of these reversed and combined—a fashion then coming into use from Italy and France.* Puttenham says that an Eastern traveller whom he met in Italy told him that this fashion was brought from the Courts of the great princes of China and Tartary. Puttenham's argument concerning metre includes, of course, some reference to the question of Latin quantity applied to English verse. The last book discusses the language of the poet; tropes and figures of speech, with examples; fitness of manner, and the art that conceals art. Among illustrations of poetical ornament is a poem by Queen Elizabeth herself,† written when the presence of Mary Queen of Scots in England was breeding faction; and the Queen of England, "nothing ignorant in those secret favours, though she had long, with great wisdom and pacience, dissembled it, writeth this ditty most sweet and sententious, not hiding from all such aspiring minds the daunger of their ambition and disloyaltie."

Another active writer was Thomas Nash. He was born in November, 1567, the son of a preacher at Lowestoft, William Nash, by his second wife Margaret, and third of the six children by that marriage, who were named Nathaniel, Israel, Thomas, Martha, Martha, and Rebecca. Nathaniel and the two Marthas died in infancy. Thomas Nash matriculated in October,

Thomas Nash.

* "E. W." ix, 164, 165. † "E. W." ix. 89, 90.

1582, as a sizar of St. John's College, Cambridge, where he himself says that he remained for seven years lacking a quarter. Nash left Cambridge, therefore, in 1589, having taken his B.A. degree in 1586 and not obtained his grace for the M.A. He first appeared in print in 1589, when in his twenty-second year, with an epistle "to the Gentlemen Students of both Universities," prefixed to Greene's novel of "Menaphon."

Robert Greene.

This brings us back to Robert Greene, whom we left in the year 1586, when he published his "Morando," and presently afterwards separated from his wife, Dorothy, who went home to her friends after about a year of married life with him, and after the birth of a child. Greene took to himself all blame of the separation, said of her that he deserted her, breathed never a word against her, and addressed to her in loving trust the last letter he wrote. After the separation he plunged into London life, wrote in three years nine more love pamphlets, wrote also for the players, partly stirred to do so by the great success of "Tamburlaine." Of Greene's plays and of the close of his life, of Marlowe's "Edward the Second" and his later work, of the close of the life of Marlowe, and of other facts that illustrate the course of the Elizabethan drama, account must be given in the next book of this history, which is to tell of Shakespeare, and connect the spirit of his work with that of other writers in the last years of Elizabeth. But, with reservation only of "Pandosto, or the Triumph of Time"—known also as "The Pleasant and Delightful History of Dorastus and Faunia"—which Greene published in 1588, and upon which Shakespeare founded the plot of his "Winter's Tale"—we must advance now to the year 1589 the record of Greene's work as novelist. In 1587 he registered, but withdrew, a "Farewell to Follie," but published "Penelope's Web," dedicated to Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland. Penelope at

the loom in her bedchamber, in the absence of Ulysses, reasons with her attendants upon love and marriage, and tells three stories to illustrate the three chief qualities through which a wife can make her husband happy; they are obedience, and chastity, and modesty that can restrain the tongue. When Penelope had told her third tale, she heard that her husband Ulysses had arrived that night within the port of Ithaca.

"Penelope's Web."

"Penelope's Web" was followed by a sequel to "Euphues," called "Euphues his Censure to Philautus," registered on the eighteenth of September, 1587. It was dedicated to the Earl of Essex, Master of the Queen's Majesty's Horse, as to a soldier, Greene "hauing by happe chaunced on some parte of Euphues counsell touching the perfection of a souldier, sent from Silexedra his melancholie cell to his friende Philautus new chosen generall of certaine forces, wherein vnder the shadow of a philosophicall combat betweene Hector and Achilles, imitating Tullies Orator, Platoes Commonwealth and Baldessar's Courtier, he aymeth at the exquisite portraiture of a perfect martialist, consisting (sayth hee) in three principall pointes: wisdom to governe; fortitude to perfourme; liberalitie to incourage." The piece imagines, during a short truce, the Trojan ladies paying a visit to the Grecian camp and gallantly received. Nestor proposes a discussion on the qualities of an ideal general. Hector puts fortitude foremost; Achilles, liberality. Argument is arranged in four discourses or conversations, each of which includes the telling of a tale—namely, Ulysses' Tale, a Tragedy; Helenus his Tragedie, following Helenus his Discourse of Wisdom; Hector's Tragedie, introduced by Hector's Discourse of Fortitude; and Achilles' Tragedy, following Achilles' Discourse of Liberality. The whole is designed as a "Sophomachia," producing witty and edifying dialogues

"Euphues his Censure to Philautus."

and speeches and tales, that, as usual, included dainty letters and orations.

In the year of the Armada Greene published, besides "Pandosto," "Perimedes the Blacksmith." Perimedes was a poor blacksmith of the city of Memphis in Egypt, who, after days of hard work, spent his evenings with his equally hard-working wife, Delia, in discussing stories which they told each other. The pamphlet contained their discourses for three nights, described by Greene in his dedication to Gervase Clifton, Esq., as "the tattle between a smith and his wife, full of diverse precepts interlaced with delightful histories." Each of the three evenings of talk had a tale in it, while tale and talk (as well as a small collection of poems in a little setting, added by request of William Bubb, the author's friend), in homely dialogue, romance, and song teach patience in adversity, the just restraints of life, true love, and peace in settled low content.

"Perimedes the Blacksmith."

Another novel, finished in 1588 and entered at Stationers' Hall on the ninth of December, was perhaps published in 1589, but the earliest edition known is that of 1617. It was called "Alcida, Greene's Metamorphosis," and a few unsigned Latin verses, among prefixed pieces in commendation show how Greene's name was paired with that of Lyly, who is named after Ascham, Cheke, and Gascoigne as

"Alcida."

> "alter
> Tullius Anglorum nunc vivens Lillius, illum
> Consequitur Grenus, præclarus uterque poeta."

The author of "Alcida" imagines himself shipwrecked on an island by the coast of Africa, and sheltered there by an old woman named Alcida, in a cottage that had near it a marble pillar fashioned as a woman, also a gay, restless bird, and a tomb covered by a rose-bush. Alcida told her story. She had been beautiful wife of a prince who died, leaving

her with a son who succeeded to his rule, and with three daughters. The eldest of her daughters, Fiordespine, was proud, and for turning her back scornfully upon a dying lover was changed by Mercury into a statue. The second daughter, Eriphila, easy and fickle, was changed into a chameleon, which Greene supposed to be a bird. The third daughter, Marpesia, told the secret of her lover and thereby brought him to the scaffold, but lay weeping so continually upon his grave that she was there changed into a rose-bush that spread itself over the tomb. When the author had heard the stories of these metamorphoses, a ship came by that took him from the island, but Alcida wept so much at being left alone again that she was changed into a well of tears.

"The Spanish Masquerado."

At the time of the meeting of the first Parliament after the defeat of the Armada, Robert Greene published a pamphlet that expressed some of the feeling of the time against the Spaniards, "The Spanish Masquerado. Wherein under a pleasant deuise is discouered effectuallie, in certaine breefe Sentences and mottos, the pride and insolencie of the Spanish estate: with the disgrace conceiued by their losse, and the dismaied confusion of their troubled thoughtes." This was dedicated to Hugh Offley, Sheriff of London, and had an eight-lined stanza in French to "mon doux ami," "mon Greene," prefixed by Thomas Lodge. The "Masquerado" represents, with a Latin motto for each person, twelve persons or sets of persons, as they may be supposed to have appeared after they heard the fate of the Armada: "First the Pope, hauing put off his triple Crowne and his Pontificalibus, sitting malecontented, scratching of his head, throwing away his keies and his sword, in great choller saith thus: *Neque Petrus, neque Paulus; quid igitur restat?*" Next Philip of Spain, attired as a hermit, goes to church on his mule, followed by Moorish slaves, and saith, *Jubet ecclesia, dissentire non audeo.* The other ten in the "Masquerado" are the

Cardinals of Rome; the Clergy of Spain; "the rest of the rascal rabble of the Romish Church;" the nobility of Spain; the Duke of Medina, Captain-General of the Spanish forces; Don Martinez de Ricaldo, chief Admiral of the Spanish Fleet. He takes for his motto, *O Neptune, quantas epulas una cœna devorasti!* Don Pedro de Valdes, General of the Army of Andalusia; princes, nobles, and other adventurers in this Spanish attempt; "the Vicegerents of his Indies, having lost by sea and land much of their Kinges treasure: sitting as discontented men on the hatches of their ships. To them is said, *Sic vos non vobis mellificatis Apes.*" Lastly, the common soldiers who were dragged into the enterprise; their motto is, *Quicquid delirant Reges, plectuntur Achivi.* Then follows upon each of these twelve heads a more detailed gloss, all ending with encouragement to trust in God and be faithful and true-hearted to Queen Elizabeth, who is His minister to set forth His Truth and plant His Gospel, whom He shrouds from all her foes, and breaketh off the wheels of their chariots who seek with Pharaoh to persecute His people.

"Orpharion."

Greene's "Orpharion" was being written in 1588, for in the address to the readers of "Perimedes" it was referred to as forthcoming. It was not registered at Stationers' Hall until the ninth of February, 1590, and was a known book in 1594, but no copy is known of an edition before that of 1599. In his preface to the gentlemen readers, Greene says it had been long promised and at last it had leapt into the stationers' shops, but the printer had it long since, further indicating that he had kept it a twelvemonth, and that it had now crept forth in the spring. This, taken together with the mention of it in "Perimedes" and its time of entry in the Stationers' register, implies publication in the spring of 1589. "Orpharion" is another love pamphlet."* Greene having suit

* Pronounced "Orpharion." That was the name of an old musical

to Venus, sought her in Cyprus and elsewhere, till at last he inquired of a shepherd in the valley by Mount Erycinus (Eryx, in Sicily, from which Venus was named Erycina). The shepherd gave as his opinion of Venus, that "bitter sauces be her chiefest delicates, and these painted sepulchers her richest trophies." "Pilgrim, I may say to thee, Wives, be they neuer so watcht, they will: Maides, be they neuer so bashfull, they wish: and Widdowes, be they neuer so coy, they would: take me not generally Pilgrime, quoth hee, and with that sitting downe he tooke his pipe in his hand, and plaid so sweetly, that like Argus at Mercuries melodie I fell on sleepe."

Mercury took the Pilgrim in his dreaming to a feast of the gods, who sent for the ghosts of Orpheus and Arion to make them music. From Orpheus and Arion came "Orpharion," the name of the instrument from which Greene took the title for this pamphlet. Orpheus sang of Eurydice, and told a tale of Lidia, the cruel daughter of Astolpho, King of Lydia, who misused Alcestes, the great knight of Thracia, her faithful lover, and brought him by her practices to a death by starvation, which her people revenged in like manner on herself. Then Arion sang a ditty of grief for sickness of his lady Thetis, and told the story of a faithful Argentina, married to Philomenes, the Prince of Corinth. A neighbouring prince, Marcion, besieged Argentina with his love, and, when she steadily refused him, Marcion made war on her husband. Then Argentina stayed the strife by promising to yield to Marcion if, after three days of starvation, he preferred her to a dish of meat. If he did not, he was pledged to trouble her no more. At the end of the three days, Argentina triumphed with a stew. The tale told, Mars observed, "We see by this event, that as women have their vanities whereby to be checked, so they have

instrument having more strings and stops than the lute, and stringed with wire instead of catgut.

their virtues redounding greatly to their praise, being both affable and constant, although that single instance of Orpheus and his Lidia did inferre the contrary." A gallant speech from Mars, and true withal. The gallantry of Mars among the gods became so choleric that at last he clapped hand upon his sword against those who taunted women with inconstancy, and clapped his other hand upon the board with a noise that awoke the poet, "not knowing," he said, "what became of the gods or of Arion's soule, only I remembred their tales." Being awake, he saw the shepherd again, who told him that all dreams on Mount Erycinus will prove true, and he hasted home cured of his restless fancy.

In 1589 Robert Greene produced also "Tullie's Love" and "Menaphon." In 1590—he lived only until 1592—Greene's books became very serious, and began to include passages of self-condemnation.

"Ciceronis Amor, Tullie's Love," published in 1589, was the most popular of Greene's novels. There were ten editions of it between 1589 and 1639. Thomas Watson was among the friends who prefixed verses of commendation, his being six lines in Latin. In this tale Lentulus, a young general victorious over the Parthians, is feasted by the senator Flaminius, father of Terentia. Love is discussed at dinner. Lentulus becomes enamoured of Terentia, whose friend Flavia becomes enamoured of Lentulus. Lentulus goes home, and finds a friend ready to welcome him, who has brought with him Cicero, a youth of twenty, already famous for his eloquence. Lentulus and Cicero become friends, and Cicero dictates a love-letter from Lentulus that Terentia shall be unable to resist. It is given by Greene in Latin as well as in English, and a Latin poem is among the English songs and verses interspersed, as usual, in the telling of the tale. Flavia detects in that letter from Lentulus the style of Cicero. Terentia becomes enamoured of Cicero, and

"Tullie's Love."

writes to Lentulus a letter of strong refusal. Cicero becomes enamoured of Terentia, but still, resisting his own passion, pleads honourably for his friend. Fabius, who has been a dissolute youth, loves Terentia, and is purified by love of all his grossness. Terentia fixes her heart on Cicero, whose self-denying efforts on behalf of his friend Lentulus bring on him serious illness. Then Lentulus picks up in his friend's room a letter from Terentia, reproaching Cicero for his continued abnegation of her love in favour of his friend. After this Lentulus seeks only the welfare of his friend. Fabius raises an armed faction to kill the favoured Cicero. Lentulus is Cicero's defender. The civil broil is brought before the Senate, and Cicero, in an oration, now offers to sacrifice his private desire to the common good. By that speech Fabius is brought to reason. He resigns Terentia to Cicero. Lentulus marries Flavia. Such is the theme of Greene's novel called "Tullie's Love," "wherein," as its title-page set forth, "is discoursed the prime of Ciceroes youth, setting out in liuely portratures how young Gentlemen that ayme at honour should leuell the end of their affections, holding the love of countrie and friends in more esteeme than those fading blossomes of beautie that onely feede the curious suruey of the eye. A worke full of pleasure as following Ciceroes vaine, who was as conceipted in his youth as graue in his age, profitable as conteining precepts worthie so famous an Orator." But, in his prefatory note to the gentle readers, Greene pleaded, in effect, that attempt to imitate the style of Cicero had somewhat spoilt his style as euphuist, even after he had credited the young Cicero with a liking for conceits that disappeared in his maturer life. The dedication was to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, who died Earl of Derby, and left as a widow the lady who in her maidenhood was Alice Spenser, with whom Edmund Spenser claimed a tie of kindred and whom Spenser praised, and in whose praise, in her old age, Milton wrote his "Arcades."

The persons to whom Greene dedicated his love pamphlets could hardly have been friends of a ruffian, and the worthiness of aim in all these little books is not to be lost sight of when we would be judges of their author's character.

"Menaphon."

Greene's "Menaphon: Camilla's Alarum to slumbering Euphues in his melancholie Cell at Silexedra," was also published in 1589, and was the book in which young Thomas Nash made his first appearance as a writer, with a long prefatory address "To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities."

Sidney's "Arcadia" was first published in 1590, a year later than "Menaphon"; but there is close kindred between the larger work and Greene's little love pamphlet, and there is no story of Greene's in which there are so many little poems interspersed.

Menaphon

is chief shepherd to Democles, King of Arcadia, who has sent adrift in a boat, without oar or mariner, his daughter Sephestia, with her husband Maximus and their infant son; Lamedon, the king's brother, resolving to go with them. Democles has lost his wife also through grief at the fate of her daughter, and his land is smitten with a plague. For remedy against the pestilence he sends two of his lords to Delphos, who bring back an oracle that no man can interpret. They must wait until time brings the answer to the riddle.

Menaphon goes to the shore to see that no sheep have straggled thither to browse on sea-ivy, complains at love, and sings a song, this being the first of its two stanzas—

"Some say Love,
Foolish Love,
Doth rule and govern all the gods,
I say Love,
Inconstant Love,
Sets men's senses far at odds.
Some swear Love,
Smooth'd-face Love,
Is sweetest sweet that men can have:
I say Love,
Sour Love,

Makes virtue yield as beauty's slave,
A bitter sweet, a folly worst of all
That forceth wisdom to be folly's thrall."

Then Menaphon sees Sephestia, with her infant and her old uncle Lamedon, cast on the shore with the wreck of their vessel. Not knowing who they are, he wonders at the beauty of the lady. Sephestia sings a lullaby to her child with the burden—

"Weep not, my wanton, smile upon my knee,
When thou art old, that's grief enough for thee."

The old man, the lady, and the child are lodged by Menaphon in his own cot, where his sister Carmela is the housewife. Sephestia, who thinks her husband lost under the waves, conceals her name and rank. She calls herself Samela, parrying the love of Menaphon, who sings to her a roundelay. Samela tends the sheep of Menaphon—the fairest shepherdess in Arcady.

Maximus, too, has come to shore and settled near by as a shepherd, having changed his name to Melicertus. Melicertus meets Samela. They are drawn to love, but do not recognise each other. Where's the romance when incidents look possible? Menaphon's neighbour, Doron, first describes Samela to Melicertus in a song beginning—

"Like to Diana in her summer weed,
Girt with a crimson robe of brightest dye
Is fair Samela:
Whiter than be the flocks that straggling feed,
When washed by Arethusâ faint they lie,
Is fair Samela."

Husband and wife meet as strangers at a shepherds' festival, and enter on the path of love without knowing that they have already travelled it together, although each reminds the other of the lost one. The shepherdess Pesana, who loves Menaphon, is jealous of Menaphon's regard towards Samela. Menaphon, who loves Samela, becomes jealous of Samela's regard for Melicertus, who pipes a musical description of his mistress, and at the end of a love-suit sings to her a madrigal.

Samela's child, named Pleusidippus, grows. When five years old he is perfect in beauty, and has also the temper of a king. His playfellows have made him King of the May, and he shows himself to be resolute and despotic. The boy, when gathering stones and cockles on the shore,

is espied by a Thessalian pirate, who carries him off, and arrays him in choice silks and Tyrian purple before sending him as peace-offering to the King of Thessaly, who delights in him and treats him as a son. So Pleusidippus becomes, by the time he is sixteen, a renowned Thessalian knight.

Menaphon, thwarted in his love, has turned Samela out of doors. But her uncle has enough left wherewithal to buy her sheepcotes and a dwelling of her own.

The fame of the fairest shepherdess spreads through the world.

Pleusidippus, to whom her picture is shown, must away to see her, though he is plighted in marriage to the daughter of the King of Thessaly. Also the old King Democles, her father, slips away from his Court to see her. Presently we have Samela courted by her husband, by her son, and by her father, not one of them knowing who is who.

Now follow plots and counterplots. Menaphon and Melicertus sing against each other an eclogue apiece, for love of Samela, with Demetes to decide their contest. Pleusidippus has been induced by Demetes to carry the lady off into a castle. Melicertus is next sent, as victor in song, to lead a rout of shepherds in attack upon the castle gates. After song, battle. Melicertus challenges Pleusidippus to single combat for the lady. Pleusidippus is ready at once. But, thinks Democles, if Pleusidippus be the victor, he will carry away the fair shepherdess to Thessaly. That must not be. Therefore, as arbiter, he allows the combat, but defers it for three days, when all shall be decided solemnly in open field.

Meanwhile Democles sends to Court and summons his nobility to come to him within three days and bring ten thousand men. They come. He hides the army somewhere near,* and when the day comes, after Melicertus and Pleusidippus had well battered each other, "Democles, seeing his time, that both of them were sore weakned, gave the watchword, and the ambush leapt out, slaughtered manie of the shepheards, put the rest to flight, tooke the two champions prisoners, and sacking the castle carried them and the fair Samela to his Court, letting the shepheardesse have her libertie, but putting Melicertus and Pleusidippus into a deepe and darke dungeon." Where's the romance when incidents look possible?

* Yet there were no innkeepers. "*Smith.* Pray, Mr. Bayes, is not this a little difficult that you were saying e'en now, to keep an army thus concealed in Knightsbridge? *Bayes.* In Knightsbridge? stay. *Johnson.* No, not if the innkeepers be his friends. *Bayes.* His friends! Ay, sir, his intimate acquaintance; or else, indeed, I grant it could not be."—*The Rehearsal.*

Doron, left to pay suit to Carmela, sings with her an eclogue in which he asks to kiss her toes, but she replies, "Ah, leave my toe and kisse my lips, my love." The imagery of the eclogue is drawn from calves, waggon ruts, kitchen stuff, cherry juice, cucumbers, hogs' tusks, and "the steame of apple pies." It is of this eclogue and its images —not of the euphuism which the shepherds generally talk throughout the book—that Greene adds, "if it be stufft with prettie similies and farre fetcht Metaphores; thinke the poore Country Louers knewe no further comparisons than came within compasse of their Countrey Logicke."

Democles set Pleusidippus free, lest the King of Thessaly should come and revenge his knight. Unable to prevail with Samela, Democles gave her free licence to visit Melicertus, then accused her of adultery, by help of a confederate gaoler, and without further witness Melicertus and Samela were condemned to die together on the scaffold. When they were brought forth, Pleusidippus, sitting by Democles, turned to him and said—

"Is it not pity that such divine beauty should be wrapped in cinders?"

"No," quoth Democles, "where the anger of a king must be satisfied."

Pleusidippus wrapt his face in his cloak and wept. Democles gave the word, the death-stroke was just about to fall on Melicertus, when there stept out an old woman attired like a prophetess, who cried, "Hold!"

The prophetess then told who the victims were, and who was Pleusidippus—explained also how the time was come to which the mystical rhymes of the oracle had pointed. "At this the people gave a great shout, and the olde woman vanisht."

Pleusidippus leapt from his seat and covered his mother with his robe. Democles stared with joy at his daughter—Sephestia, not Samela. Maximus knew his wife. Democles impaled the head of Pleusidippus with the crown and diadem of Arcady. He also made his brother duke in Arcady. After Pleusidippus had been crowned, they all made haste to the wedding of King Pleusidippus with the daughter of the King of Thessaly.

Menaphon, when he heard how high he had aspired, "left such lettice as were too fine for his lips and courted his old love Pesana, to whom shortly after he was married. And lest there should be left anything unperfect in this pastorall accident, Doron smudgde himself vp, and iumped a marriage with his old friend Carmela."

Nash's address "To the Gentlemen Students of both Universities"—his first utterance in print—prefixed to Greene's "Menaphon," is to be taken as the work of a clever youth of two-and-twenty, fresh from a residence of nearly seven years at St. John's College, Cambridge. He thwacks about with an air-bladder of confident opinion; thinks much of the two Universities, as well he may, and most of St. John's College, Cambridge, as in duty bound: cares for good work, and has a vaguely vigorous contempt for triflers, learned or unlearned, in the world of literature that he now is entering. He rightly objects to inkhorn phrases, and himself has to unlearn a few—as he will, in fact, unlearn them. He only uses them now while unknown to the world, by way of showing himself scholar. After this first letter, we do not find in his writing such confusion of tongues as in the opening of his address to the "courteous and wise Gentlemen Students": "To you he appeals that knew him *ab extrema pueritia*, whose *placet* he accounts the *plaudite* of his pains; thinking his day labour was not altogether lavished *sine linea*, if there be anything of all in it that doth *olere Atticum* in your estimate. I am not ignorant how eloquent our gowned age is grown of late; so that every mechanical mate abhors the English he was born to, and plucks, with a solemn periphrasis, his *ut valeo* from the inkhorn." We may smile at this way of asserting the validity of homely English, but Nash meant what he said, and lived to prove that he had full faith in his mother tongue.

Nash to the Students of both Universities.

After praising Sir Thomas Elyot and Sir Thomas More, Nash loyally ascribes to St. John's College, Cambridge, the revival of learning in England; "yet was not knowledge fully confirmed in her monarchy amongst us till that most famous and fortunate nurse of all learning, St. John's in Cambridge, that at that time was as an University in itself:

shining so far above all other houses, halls, and hospitals whatsoever, that no college in the town was able to compare with the tithe of her students; having (as I have heard grave men of credit report) more candles light in it every winter morning before four of the clock than the four of clock bell gave strokes." Trinity College was but a colony of bees, and Nash cites in her honour the names of Sir John Cheke, "a man of men, supernaturally traded in all tongues, Sir John Mason, Doctor Watson, Redman, Ascham, Grindal, Lever, Pilkington, all of which have either by their private readings or public works, repurged the errors of Arts expelled from their purity, and set before our eyes a more perfect method of study."

Redman, Lever, and Pilkington were all, in their turn, Masters of St. John's. Dr. John Redman, of Yorkshire family and a relation of Cuthbert Tunstal's, studied at Oxford and Paris before graduating at Cambridge, B.A. in 1526, M.A. in 1530. In 1546 he was appointed the first Master of Trinity College, by the charter of its foundations in December, 1546. He died in 1551, famous for his scholarship in Greek and Latin, and leaving behind him two books in Latin, printed after his death, one on Justification, the other on Grace. This latter work was translated by Dr. John Young, in 1556, as "The Complaint of Grace."

Lever was Dr. Thomas Lever, who was Master of St. John's from December, 1551, till September, 1553, when he retired for conscience' sake and went abroad. He preached sermons before Edward VI. and his Council, which were published. Under Elizabeth he became Archdeacon of Coventry and minister in that town, also Master of Sherborne Hospital and Canon of Durham. But he was in trouble just before his death, in 1577, for sharing the objection of Archbishop Grindal to the discouragement of prophesyings, and inclining to the Puritan view of Church discipline.

James Pilkington, born in 1520 at Rivington Hall, in Lancashire, was also an exile in the time of Mary. He was Master of St. John's from July, 1559, until October, 1561, retaining office until about six months after he had been consecrated Bishop of Durham. He objected to the persecution of clergy who conscientiously objected to what they considered to be Popish vestments and ceremonies. He married late in life, and had daughters who survived him. Bishop Pilkington died in January, 1576. Among his published writings are expositions upon Haggai, Obadiah, and Nehemiah, and two sermons in Queen Elizabeth's Second Book of Homilies, one against Gluttony and Drunkenness, the other against Excess of Apparel.

We see then that Nash paid honour to St. John's men who, as liberal scholars, were not in accord with the policy that would force the conscience of those clergy who insisted strongly on the need of preachers, and who strongly desired that the Reformed Church of England would put away vestments, ceremonies, keeping of saints' days, and whatever else was retained that seemed to them not based on scriptural authority, and that reminded them of Rome.

Nash's letter, prefixed in 1589 to "Menaphon," also contains his opinions on the literature of the day. They may be taken as representing current opinion among gentlemen students of the Universities; here and there, of course, coloured by his individual impressions. His first mention is of George Gascoigne, who "is not to be abridged of his deserved esteem, who first beat the path to that perfection which our best poets have aspired to since his departure. . . . Neither was Master Turbervile the worst of his time, although in translating he attributed too much to the necessity of rime. And in this page of praise," says Nash, "I cannot omit aged Arthur Golding, for his industrious toil in Englishing Ovid's Metamorphosis, besides many other exquisite editions of Divinity turned by him out of

the French tongue into our own. Master Phaer likewise is not to be forgot in regard of his famed Virgil." But Stanihurst, "inspired with an hexameter fury, recalled to life whatever hissed barbarism hath been buried this hundred years; . . . a pattern whereof I will propound to your judgments, as near as I can, being part of one of his descriptions of a tempest, which is thus—

"'Then did he make heaven's vault to rebound, with rounce, robble, hobble
Of ruff raff roaring, with thwick thwack, thurlery bouncing.'"

In referring to Watson, as writer of Latin, he recalls the skill of Walter Haddon and Nicholas Carr.

Haddon, who died aged fifty-six in January, 1572, learnt his Greek at Cambridge of Thomas Smith, and was a friend of Ascham's. Haddon was Vice-Chancellor of his University in 1549-50. At the request of the University, conveyed to the Crown in a letter from Ascham, Walter Haddon was, in 1551, made Regius Professor of Civil Law. In February, 1552, he was appointed Master of Trinity Hall, and, in the following October, President of Magdalen College, Oxford. He resigned after the accession of Mary, and then practised law. He was M.P. for Reigate in the Parliament that met in October, 1555; for Thetford in the Parliament that met in January, 1558; for Poole in the Parliament of 1559; for Warwick in the Parliament of 1563. He welcomed the accession of Elizabeth with Latin verse. His friend, Archbishop Parker, made him a Judge of the Prerogative Court. He translated the English Liturgy into Latin for the use of colleges. He was a trusted servant of Elizabeth in many ways. Among Walter Haddon's writings were Latin poems collected by Thomas Hatcher, and published at Cambridge in 1567. Queen Elizabeth, when she was asked whether she preferred Haddon or Buchanan,

replied, "I put nobody before Buchanan, and put Haddon after nobody."

The other Latin writer to whom young Nash looked back with particular respect, Nicholas Carr, died in his forty-fifth year, in November, 1568. He was appointed in 1546 one of the original Fellows of Trinity College, and was in the next year made Regius Professor of Greek. In 1558 he graduated as M.D., and afterwards added practice of medicine to the teaching of Greek. Nash joined Nicholas Carr's name to that of Walter Haddon chiefly because there had been published, in 1571, three years after his death, a translation by Nicholas Carr of the three Olynthiac Orations and the four Philippics of Demosthenes from Greek into Latin, with some account of Carr's life written by Bartholomew Dodyngton.

These men being gone, said Nash, "Thomas Newton with his Leyland, and Gabriel Harvey, with two or three other, is almost all the store that is left us at this hour." If Nash afterwards fell out with Gabriel Harvey, he started with this endorsement of his credit at the University.

Thomas Newton has been already mentioned as the translator of Seneca's "Thebais," and the collector, in 1581, of the ten translations of Seneca's tragedies into English.* Newton was regarded, in 1589, as one of the best writers of Latin verse. He was born at Batley, in the parish of Presbury, in Cheshire, educated at Macclesfield, and sent to Trinity College, Oxford. He migrated to Cambridge, where he settled at Queen's College, and earned high reputation as a Latin poet. But he left Cambridge without having taken a degree, and returned to Oxford on his way back to Macclesfield, where he became a schoolmaster and practised medicine. Thomas Newton was patronised by Robert, Earl of Essex, and in 1581 he was presented to the rectory of Little Ilford, in Essex, where he

* "E.W." viii. 219, 220.

still laboured as a schoolmaster and still practised medicine until his death in May, 1607. He throve by his industry, and left his property to two sons, Emmanuel and Abel. Thomas Newton, before his translation of the "Thebais" of Seneca, had published, in 1575, a History and Chronicle of the Saracens and Turks, drawn chiefly from Cœlius Augustin Curio (who had been Professor of Eloquence at Basel, and died in 1567). Nash's reference to Newton "and his Leyland" points to a piece of Latinity produced in the same year as Greene's "Menaphon"—"Encomia," of Newton's own writing, published in 1589 as part of his edition of the "Encomia" of John Leland.*

It is only to be added that in this maiden speech prefixed to "Menaphon," young Nash, while he preferred his friend Greene's novels to the bombast of the theatre and verses inspired by the pint pot, had a patriotic faith in his country. He was ready to oppose Chaucer, Gower, and Lydgate to "Petrarch, Tasso, and Celiano," and—not the less for being himself a Cambridge man—he placed Edmund Spenser at the head of English poets of his time. Writing in the year before the appearance of the first three books of the "Faerie Queene," "Should the challenge," he says, "of deep conceit be intruded by any foreigner to bring our English wits to the touchstone of Art, I would prefer divine Master Spenser, the miracle of wit, to bandy line for line for my life, in the honour of England, gainst Spain, France, Italy, and all the world." But Cambridge men in 1589 had for some years known the drift of the poem on which Spenser had been busy since the days when he was still resident among them.

Thomas Nash's first independent pamphlet, "The

* "Principum ac illustrium aliquot et eruditorum in Anglia Vivorum Encomia, Trophæa, Genethliaca et Epithalamia. Illustrissimorum aliquot Heroum, hodie viventium, aliorumque hinc inde Anglorum, Encomia quædam a Thoma Newtono exarata." London, 4to., 1589.

Anatomie of Absurditie," published also in 1589, contained somewhat rambling notes on literature and life, through which he sought to show his wit and scholarship. Young readiness to put the world to rights provoked no touch of mocking personality, and the youth of twenty-two gave counsels worthy of a greybeard. Nash was no more tolerant than Ascham of the old romances "of Arthur of the Round Table, Arthur of Little Britain, Sir Tristram, Huon of Bordeaux, the Squire of Low Degree, the four sons of Aymon, with infinite others," and rashly swept them aside as "the fantastical dreams of those exiled Abbey lubbers." He opposed to "the blazing of women's slender praises" in romance and song a whimsical setting forth of the dispraise of women, not without reference to Mantuan's invective, for which at the end of his pamphlet he desired of women patience that would encourage him hereafter to make amends. He passed on to the melancholy pamphleteers, anatomisers of abuses and writers of invective, whom he accounts "never the holier because they place praise in painting forth other men's imperfections." He peeps under the cloak of zeal, condemns the pamphlets by men who profess to set forth judgments of God and signs in the heavens. "Who made them," he asks, "so privy to the secrets of the Almighty that they should foretell the tokens of his wrath or terminate the time of his vengeance? But lightly some news attends the end of every Term, some Monsters are booked, though not bred against vacation times, which are straightway diversely dispersed into every quarter, so that at length they become the alehouse talk of every carter." Nash distinguishes between true utterances of the poet and "our babbling ballads, and our new found songs and sonnets which every red nosed fiddler hath at his fingers end, and every ignorant ale knight will breathe forth over the pot as soon as his brain waxeth hot." Of true poetry he accounts "as of a more hidden and divine kind of

Nash's "Anatomie of Absurditie."

philosophy, enwrapped in blind fables and dark stories, wherein the principles of more excellent arts and moral precepts of manners, illustrated with divers examples of other kingdoms and countries are contained." He quotes Erasmus, who termed poetry a dainty dish, seasoned with delights of every kind of discipline, and asks whether rhyming be poetry when we see such scambling shifts for rhyme as in "Bevis of Hampton," where

> "The Porter said, by my snout,
> It was Sir Bevis that I let out;"

or this—

> "Some lost a nose, some a lip,
> And the King of Scots hath a ship."

Nash illustrates from the fables of the ancients the deeper life in a true poem. He passes on to the idleness of youth that thinks it a disgrace to embrace the studies of age, reasons against ignorance in man or woman, and the unripe scholar, drawn too early from the University, who is perched in a pulpit and there preaches very zealously, being as yet scarce grounded in religious principles: "How can those men call home the lost sheep that are gone astray, coming into the ministry before their wits be staid?" Turning, then, from the soul to the body, Nash discusses moderation and excess in diet, and then closes with some wholesome counsel on the way to feed and to make right use of the mind. "Reading should be temperate, whereunto wisdom, not weariness, must prescribe an end. . . . Our learning ought to be our lives' amendment, and the fruits of our private study ought to appear in our public behaviour. . . . Learn of all men willingly that which thou knowest not, because humility may make that common to thee which nature hath made proper to every one. Thou shalt be wiser than all, if thou wilt learn of all. Heed what Chrysippus saith in his proverbs, That which thou knowest not, peradventure thy ass can tell thee." Nash passes to the

praise of a well-ordered rhetoric, points to Mulcaster's "Positions," but refers especially to the teachings of Ascham, and ends his pamphlet with "desiring of the learned pardon and of the women patience." Pieces like these from a young writer, whose quick wit is moved by the spirit of the life about him, are very helpful to the full understanding of the past. We shall know how to think fairly of the whole career of Thomas Nash—he died at the age of thirty-two —now that we have looked fairly at his way of first seeking citizenship in the republic of letters.

Ballads and Pamphlets: Entries at Stationers' Hall.

Ballads of jest or murder, playful or religious—not without many an appeal to popular credulity and superstition—settings forth in prose also of monsters, portents, or other appetising bits of public news, with a religious aim predominant, have, at this period of our literature, a large place in the entries on the Register of books licensed by the Company of Stationers. In the twelve years from 1579 to 1590, including each of those years, the number of publications so licensed was about 1,856—say, an average of 154 for each year—and the predominance of small catchpenny pieces is shown by the fact that after a rapid fall in the number of entries from 192 and 195 in 1579 and 1580, and from 155 and 157 in 1581 and 1582, to 112, 67, and 42 in the next three years, there was a whipping up of defaulters, perhaps on the mere motion of the wardens of the Stationers' Company, perhaps at the suggestion of Archbishop Whitgift, who saw negligence in the administration of this part of the machinery for gagging the Press. The entries rose in 1586 to the unwonted number of 292, but nearly the whole difference was made by long lists of ballads which had in the preceding years escaped the supervision of the licensers. After this the average of entries was more than sustained, the number of licences taken being successively 125, 175, 143, and 201 in the next four years.

When it was believed that oneness of opinion is essential in matters of religion and government, especially in matters of religion, and the printing press began to scatter men's thoughts broadcast, the Church, naturally enough, endeavoured to sift out before publication whatever might establish or encourage schism, and a systematic censorship began at Rome. Ecclesiastical superintendence, introduced in 1479 and 1496, was more completely established by a Bull of Leo X. in 1515. Bishops and Inquisitors were required by that Bull to examine all books before they were printed, and suppress heretical opinions. An Index of Prohibited Books was begun by the Council of Trent in 1546. It contained all books that might not be read by any member of the Church without a special licence from his bishop. Other books that required only expurgations were put in the Expurgatory Index, and might be read only after each offending passage had been blotted out by the authorities. These lists still appear under the superintendence of a special congregation of cardinals called the Congregation of the Index.

Censorship of the Press.

When Henry VIII. threw off the Pope, the censorship for England passed from the care of his Holiness to that of the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of London. The State added its efforts to prevent publication of discordant political opinions. Elizabeth forbade printing in all parts of England except London, Oxford, and Cambridge, and in these towns limited the number of the presses. Oxford and Cambridge had only one press each, and by her Injunction of 1559 the Queen's Majesty straightly charged and commanded "that no manner of person shall print any manner of boke or paper, of what sort, nature, or in what language soeuer it be, excepte the same be first licenced, by her maiestie by expresse wordes in writynge, or by vi. of her priuy counsel, or be perused and licensed by the archbysshops of Canterbury and Yorke, the bishop of London,

the chancelours of both vnyuersities, the byshop beyng Ordinary, and the Archdeacon also of the place where any suche shalbe printed, or by two of them, whereof the Ordinary of the place to be alwaies one."

In 1583, when John Whitgift became, on the twenty-fourth of September, Archbishop of Canterbury, determined to repress opinion on each side of the queen's *Via Media*, there were in London only twenty-three authorised printers, and they owned, in all, fifty-three hand-presses. On the twenty-third of June, 1583, Whitgift and other members of the High Court of Commission had passed the Star Chamber decree on printing under which action was taken against the Marprelate pamphleteers of 1589. This decree subjected the printer of an unlicensed book to six months' imprisonment, besides destruction of his presses and types and permanent deprival of his licence to print, if he had one. While the Earl of Leicester lived, his influence in the Privy Council put some check on Whitgift's zeal. He was impatient of the check. "It is strange," he said, "that a man of my place, dealing by so good a warrant as I do"—he was strictly seeking to enforce the queen's own policy—"should be so encountered, and for not yielding, be counted wilful. But I must be content, *vincit qui patitur*. There is a difference between wilfulness and constancy. I have taken upon me, by the place which I hold under her Majesty, the defence of the Religion and the Rites of the Church of England, to appease the Schisms and Sects therein, to reduce all the Ministers thereof to uniformity and to due obedience, and not to waver with every wind; which also my place, my person, my duty, the laws, her Majesty, and the goodness of the cause do require of me, and wherein the Lords of her Highness's most honourable Privy Council, all things considered, ought in duty to assist and countenance me."

Lord Burghley—and more especially Sir Christopher

Hatton—did support Whitgift, whose policy of strong suppression was prompted by Elizabeth herself. When the Earl of Leicester was away in the Low Countries, Burghley and Hatton slipped the Archbishop quietly into the Privy Council, with Lord Cobham. Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst—a good friend of Whitgift's—was sworn to the same office on the following day. This gave the archbishop free access to the queen. In April, 1587, Sir Christopher Hatton was made Lord Chancellor. The change added to Whitgift's strength, and the last check on his zeal, for compelling English Christians to be of one opinion on all points of faith and discipline that were determined for them by the Government, was removed by the death of the Earl of Leicester on the fourth of September, 1588. Religiously and honestly, thenceforward, without any hindrance from the queen's advisers, Whitgift tried his plan of firm coercion. The result was that, under his rule, conflicts of opinion became more resolute, debate was embittered, and the foundations of nonconformity were laid. Whitgift went forward boldly on what he believed to be the only way to a staying of divisions among Churchmen in opinions touching ceremonial and doctrine. In his days the lesson had yet to be learnt by nearly all men that many, even in our own time, have only begun to learn. God made us to differ in opinion that, by action and reaction of opposing forms of honest thought, each having for its principle of life some part of truth, we may slowly work our way towards the highest truth, seeking and loving it with all our hearts and all our souls and all our minds and all our strength, and taught by it a like love of our neighbour. In the ideal Church there will still be the natural and wholesome differences of opinion. In that respect, shaped as we are by a wise Creator for the evolution of an ever-growing life by energies through which alone our human life is kin to the divine, there can be no change till reason sinks into the instinct of the ants and bees. But

we attain Church unity when we find God in all truth, and know that He is Love. The Christian Church will become one when its worshippers grow one in spirit by humbly seeking to live in accordance with the spirit of their Master. Then Christians will find in differences of opinion, that once angered them, one of the charms that guide men in the choice of closest friendship—a likeness in essentials with difference in accidents; one love and one allegiance to highest truth, much difference in ways of showing it.

John Penry.

John Penry, born in 1559 in Brecknockshire—probably at Cefnbrith, in Llangamanch—entered Cambridge in December, 1580, as a pensioner at Peterhouse. He graduated as B.A. early in 1584, then passed to Oxford, where he became a commoner of St. Alban's Hall, and graduated as M.A. in July, 1586. He married Eleanor, daughter of Henry Godly, of Northampton.

Penry's "Æquity of an Humble Supplication."

In 1587 John Penry wrote, on behalf of spiritual teaching in his native country, "A Treatise containing the Æquity of An Humble Supplication which is to be exhibited vnto hir gracious Maiesty and this high Court of Parliament in behalf of the Countrey of Wales, that some order may be taken for the preaching of the Gospell among those people. Wherein also is set downe as much of the estate of our people as without offence could be made known, to the end that our case (if it please God) may be pitied by them who are not of this assembly, and so they also may bee driuen to labour on our behalfe. At Oxford, Printed by Joseph Barnes, and are to be sold in Pauls Church-yard at the signe of the Tyger's head. 1587." A notice to the reader says that rumour of the dissolution of Parliament caused the printing to be hurried, and more than two parts of it omitted: "The nearer I came to the end the more haste I made." The sixty-four pages published contained

an honest plea for correction of ignorance, superstition, profane swearing, adultery, and fornication amongst the people of Wales, by better provision for faithful teaching and preaching. "These thinges," said John Penry, "I doe not set downe to disgrace my deare countrimen. I beare them another hart. My purpose is to shew that all the good politique laws in the woorld cannot wash awaie these our stains. The nitre that washeth purely, the word of the Lord, must doe it." Since the queen's accession, Cambridge alone had sent into the commonwealth 3,400 graduates: "Four hundred of these would haue been since that time well placed in Wales, whereas at this day we haue not twelue in all our country that doe discharge their duety in any good sort." Penry argued that a certain number of the preachers in Wales should be able to speak to the people in their own tongue, and this he advised to be provided for by giving Welsh livings to graduates who had gone up to the universities from Wales. He pleaded against the number of Welsh livings held by men who never came among their people: "Non-residences haue cut the throte of our Church. Some that neuer preached haue three Church liuinges. Many of our liuinges are possessed by students of either of the Vniuersities who neuer come amongst vs, vnles it be to fleece." Penry looked forward to the diffusion of the Bible in Welsh among the Welshmen. The translation of the New Testament had been finished in 1567. The translation of the Old Testament was nearly complete, and the complete Bible in Welsh was first printed in 1580.

Penry's treatise was presented to the House of Commons by one of its Welsh members on the twentieth of February, 1588. The archbishop and the bishops—namely, John Aylmer, of London, and Thomas Cooper, of Winchester, with Doctor Lewin and Doctor Cosins, in the High Court of Commission, at once ordered the books, of which there were five hundred copies printed, to be seized, and Penry to be

brought before their Court as a factious slanderer of her Majesty's Government. After he had been brought up, and called by the archbishop boy, knave, slanderer, he was kept in prison for thirty days, and finally discharged without any distinct hearing of the case against him.

The Marprelate Controversy took its beginning from a quarto book of 1,412 pages, directed chiefly against writings of Thomas Cartwright and Theodore Beza. It was entitled "A defence of the Government established in the Church of Englande for Ecclesiasticall Matters," was published in London by John Winder in 1587, and was written by Dr. John Bridges, Dean of Salisbury. John Bridges had graduated at Cambridge as B.A. in 1556, when he was elected Fellow of Pembroke Hall, and became M.A. in 1560. In 1573 he wrote against two Roman Catholic books a treatise asserting "The Supremacie of Christian Princes over all Persons throughout their dominions," and he obtained the degree of D.D. from Canterbury in 1575. In 1577 he was made Dean of Salisbury. He lived on until 1618, after having been consecrated Bishop of Oxford at the beginning of the reign of James I.

The Marprelate Controversy: Doctor Bridges.

To the defence by Dr. John Bridges of the government established in the Church of England for ecclesiastical matters, a first answer was published in April, 1588, by the Reverend John Udall, preacher at Kingston-on-Thames. There was no name of author or printer to this unlicensed publication, which was known by the short title of "Diotrephes," its whole name being, "The State of the Church of England laid open in a Conference between Diotrephes, a Bishop, Tertullus, a Papist, Demetrius, a Usurer, Pandochus, an Innkeeper, and Paul, a Preacher of the Word of God." John Udall, its writer, had studied in Cambridge, at

John Udall's "Diotrephes."

Christ's College and Trinity; he commenced M.A. in 1584, was ordained, and became a much-troubled young Puritan minister at Kingston-on-Thames. He was soon called to answer for himself before Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, and William Daye, Dean of Windsor. Summoned afterwards before the Court of High Commission, he was restored to his ministry by friendly intercession of the Countess of Warwick and Sir Drue Drury, but in 1588 he was deprived of his living, and imprisoned in the "White Lion" at Southwark.

In the preface to "Diotrephes," Udall explained the names of the speakers in the little dialogue—

> "Diotrephes was he of whom S. Iohn speaketh in his third Epistle, verse 9, that louing to haue the preheminence, disturbed the course of good things in the Church, and therfore sustaineth the person of a Byshopp, or Byshoply prelate. Tertullus is he of whom Luke speaketh in the 24. Acts, that was the speaker in the ambassage from Ierusalem to Fœlix the gouernor, against Paule, in the defence of ceremonies abrogated, for the ouerthrowe of the Gospel, and so representeth the papists, that maintaine their traish to the rooting out of true religion. Demetrius is he of whom mention is made in Actes 19, that was enemie to Paule, because he liued by an vnlawfull trade, and for that cause doth play the part of an vserer. Paule was the defender, you know, of the Gospel in sincerítie, and he whose pen the holy Ghost did vse to expresse the discipline of the church most clerely, and therefore speaketh for the ministers of our time that stand for reformation. Pandochus is an Inn-keeper in Greeke, and it is as much as to saye, a receiuer of all and a soother of euery man for his gaine."

Diotrephes, the Bishop, and Tertullus are on the way back from a mission to Edinburgh and St. Andrews, in which they have sped ill. They stop at an inn, and talk there in friendly fashion with the Usurer and the Innkeeper, but think no good of Paul, the Puritan, who is also staying there. Paul vexes the customers with grace before and after meat, and vexes the innkeeper by exhortations to temperance that greatly reduce the consumption of his wine. Diotrephes

and Tertullus send for Paul, inquire of him touching his opinions, and argue against them. They part from him, talk together, then invite him again next morning at breakfast-time, when Tertullus eats no eggs because it is a fast day. Diotrephes and Tertullus are represented as good friends, although before the world Diotrephes must seem to frown alike on Puritan and Roman Catholic. When both are sent to prison, the Pope's friends have the best rooms and the Puritans the stinking cells. The pamphlet is religious in aim, and, though lively, is as temperate as it well could be, considering that the author meant to speak his mind. For he seriously looked upon bishops as stinking in the nostrils of both God and man, "especially in these three last years of their tyrannie"—that is to say, since Whitgift became active. "Away," says Diotrephes, "thou rayling hypocrite, I will talke with thee no longer. If I catche thee in London I will make thee kiss the Clinke for this geare." To which Paul answers: "Indeede the Clynke, Gate-house, White-lyon and the Fleet have bin your onely argumentes whereby you haue proued your cause these many yeeres, but you shall preuaile no longer, for your wickednesse is made manifest vnto all men, which God will shortly repaye into your owne bosomes seuenfolde; but pray to God to giue you repentance, that those things hapen not vnto you."

In May or June, 1588, there was a list of twenty-five who had been imprisoned—most of them for reading the Scriptures in a private house on Sunday, or having them so read, instead of going to the church. Some were imprisoned for refusing to take an official oath. Two of them had lain in prison nineteen months. One, who had a wife and six children depending on him for support, had been imprisoned fifteen months for not taking an oath before the Bishop of London. Another, with a wife and eight children, imprisoned for hearing the Bible read in a friend's house on

Sunday, died in prison. Two aged widows and a man of sixty-six, who had a wife and children, being sent to Newgate for the same offence, all the three died there of gaol fever. One, sent to Bridewell, was there beaten with cudgels, "for refusinge to heare the Preyst of that house."

John Penry left prison with his zeal intensified. He secretly bought a printing press and a supply of foreign type, and he allied himself with Robert Waldegrave, a fearless Puritan member of the Stationers' Company. Waldegrave had been deprived of his licence because he had printed for Puritans. He saved under his cloak a box of foreign type when his own press was seized—that was on the thirteenth of May, 1588—and when his types also were melted, because he had printed Udall's "Diotrephes." The secret press, with Waldegrave to manage it, was first set up in the country house of Mistress Crane, at East Moulsey. So battle was prepared, and there were many eager for the fray. They were devout, but mostly young and rash of speech.

The Secret Press.

John Udall promptly followed up "Diotrephes" with "A Demonstration of the truth of that Discipline which Christ hath prescribed in his Word for the gouernment of His Church in all times and places until the end of the world." This was printed secretly by Waldegrave in Mistress Crane's house at East Moulsey, and issued before the middle of November, 1588, together with a pamphlet in which the reasonings of Doctor John Bridges were replied to, and the name Martin Marprelate was first adopted as that of the author of books against Prelacy that issued from the secret press. Udall's "Demonstration of Discipline" is valuable as a record of opinion; for its purpose was to give to the people within the compass of a short pamphlet a compact statement of the argument against Church Government by Prelacy, and in maintenance of the Divine

Udall's "Demonstration of Discipline."

authority for the system preferred by the Puritans. It was a system thus defined by John Udall in his own closing summary—

"Therefore upon these grounds of Scriptures, Fathers, Councels, Emperours, Lawes, Histories, newe writers, and cleare light of reason, I conclude, that Christ hath prescribed vnto vs an exacte and perfect platforme of gouerning his church at all times, and in all places; which is that there ought to be no ministers of the word but Pastors and Teachers, which are to be called by the people, and ordained by the Eldership, are of equall authoritie in their seuerall congregations, muste with all faythfull diligence imploye themselves in the ministery of the worde and sacramentes; that there are to be in euery congregation certaine Elders, whose office is to ouersee the behauiour of the people, and assist their pastour in the gouernment of the church; also Deacons, who are to be imployed onely in receiuing, and bestowing the liberallity and goodes of the church to the reliefe of the poore, and other necessary vses: Lastly, that there must be in euery congregation an eldershipp of pastour, teacher (if they can haue any), and elders, who are in common, to see that the church be well gouerned, not onely in maintayning the profession and practize of the worde in generall, but also in admonishing, reprehending, or seperating from the Lords supper, them that walk offensiuely, and lastly in excommunicating them that by no other meanes can be reclaimed. So that all and euery gouernement contrary or besides this, whether in part or in whol, swarueth from that order which Christ hath set down in his word, and therefore is vnlawful."

These first writings of Penry and Udall, though strong in opinion, were not unchristian in spirit. Their offence was that they openly sought to change the established order of Church government. This made it necessary for them to use a secret press. Together with Udall's "Demonstration of Discipline," Penry issued, and was suspected by some to have written, a reply to the Dean of Salisbury's defence of the government established in the Church of England for ecclesiastical matters, "The Epistle of Martin Marprelate." Its temper appears in its full title: "Oh read ouer D. Iohn Bridges for it is a worthy worke: Or an epitome of the fyrst

"The Epistle of Martin Marprelate."

Booke of that right worshipful volume, written against the Puritanes, in the defence of the noble cleargie, by as worshipfull a prieste, John Bridges, Presbyter, Priest, or Elder, doctor of Diuilitie, and Deane of Sarum. Wherein the arguments of the puritans are wisely presented, that when they come to answere M. Doctor, they must needes say something that hath bene spoken. Compiled for the behoofe and overthrow of the Parsons, Fyckers, and Currats, that have lernt their Catechismes, and are past grace: By the reverend and worthie Martin Marprelate gentleman, and dedicated to the Confocation house. The Epitome is not yet published, but it shall be when the Byshops are at conuenient leysure to view the same. In the meane time, let them be content with this learned Epistle. Printed oversea, in Europe, within two furlongs of a Bounsing priest, at the cost and charges of M. Marprelate, gentleman."

This epistle deals rather with personalities than principles. Some of the personal details are pertinent enough to be fair, and help, no doubt, to the piecing out of the whole story of the controversy; but others are impertinent retailings of malicious tattle—of a dog that snapped off a bishop's cap, or of Aylmer, Bishop of London, as having annexed to his own use a quantity of stolen cloth, avoiding restoration of it to its owners. Such matters—true or false—only confuse the issue of a controversy dealing with great principles; and the contemptuous tone of the whole pamphlet, the passages of mere abuse, could serve only to turn reasoning into a stupid wrangle. When Udall was questioned before the bishops, and was asked a question that he could not answer without telling what he did not wish them to know, he honestly declined to answer. He took pains to avoid untruth. So when Udall was brought up to London in January, 1590, from Newcastle, where he had been received as a preacher, and examined as to his

authorship of "Diotrephes" and "The Demonstration of Discipline," he declined to answer; but his authorship of the Martinist books he denied. He said that he neither knew nor thought Penry to be Martin, because he had seen a letter written by Penry when the first Martinist books came out, in which he distinctly denied that he wrote them. There is no doubt, however, that Penry gave the copy to be printed, that the secret press was his, and that he was answerable for what came from it. I believe, also, that the pamphlets contained passages inserted by him, or by other contributors who had something to say that was not said by "Martin." The true Martin was probably a layman about the Court, but he was not, and he is not yet, identified.

After the issue of Martin's "Epistle," Penry had his press carted from Mrs. Crane's house in East Moulsey to the house of Sir Richard Knightley, at Fawsley, in Northamptonshire. The promised "Epitome" of part of the work of Doctor Bridges was then published by Martin Marprelate. It appeared a few weeks after Thomas Cooper, Bishop of Winchester, had published his "Admonition to the People of England against Martin Marprelate." This "Admonition" was a pamphlet of some extent. It replied to specific accusations, and dealt systematically with the general argument upon all points in the indictment against the ecclesiastical polity established by Elizabeth. The pamphlet is not without touches of angry attack, and in one passage it fits Martin Marprelate cleverly into a picture from Lucian; but as a whole it is a piece of serious and honest reasoning, preceded by a refutation of those personal calumnies with which the Puritan argument had been, through the unknown writer who took the name of Marprelate, confused and discredited.

Bishop Cooper's "Admonition to the People of England."

The Martinist press was moved from Sir Richard Knightley's house at Fawsley to another house of his at

Norton-by-Daventry. Thence it was presently taken to be set up in the house of John Hales, a gentleman of Coventry, whose place was known as "The White Friars." From Coventry Penry issued, about the ninth of March, 1589, his "Supplication to the Parliament, showing such public wants and disorders as are in the service of God within her Majesty's country of Wales." From Coventry also, Martin Marprelate issued, about the twentieth of February, "Certaine Minerall and Metaphisicall School points, to be defended by the reuerend Bishops, and the rest of my cleargie masters of the Conuocation house, against both the vniuersities, and al the reformed churches in Christendome. Wherein is layd open the uery Quintessence of al Cater-corner diuinities," &c. &c. About a month later there was issued also from the secret press at Coventry Martin Marprelate's attack on Bishop Cooper's pamphlet, in which, as in his preceding pieces, he sought to carry the people with him by the use of ridicule. He took his title from a well-known street cry of the time, "Hay any Work for Cooper?" with usual long addition on the title-page, which I give as another example of this controversial style: "Hay any work for Cooper: Or a brief Pistle directed by waye of an hublication to the reuerende Byshopps, counselling them, if they will needes be barrelled up, for feare of smelling in the nostrels of her Maiestie and the State, that they would vse the aduise of reuerend Martin, for the prouiding of their Cooper. Because the reuerend T. C. (by which mistical letters is vnderstood, eyther the bounsing parson of Eastmeane, or Tom Coakes his Chaplaine) hath showed himself in his late Admonition to the people of England, to bee an unskilfull and decaytfull tub trimmer. Wherein worthy Martin quits himselfe like a man I warrant you, in the modest defence of his selfe and his learned Pistles, and makes the Cooper's hoopes

Penry's "Supplication to the Parliament."

"Mineral Conclusions."

"Hay any Work for Cooper?"

to fly off, and the Bishops Tubs to leeke out of all crye. Penned and compiled by Martin the Metrapolitane. Printed in Europe, not far from some of the Bounsing priests." A later pamphlet bore the title of "More Work for Cooper."

In April, May, and June, unseemly counter-attacks followed: "A Whip for an Ape, or Martin Displayed"; "Mar Martin"; "Marre Mar Martin" (against both sides); "Anti-Martinus"; "A Bait for Momus." The secret press was moved, meanwhile, from the Whitefriars at Coventry to the house of Job Throgmorton at Haseley, near Warwick; then to Wolston Priory, about six miles from Coventry, where Robert Wigston gave it shelter. From Wolston Priory were issued, in the latter part of July, 1589, "Theses Martinianæ," by Martin Junior, dedicated "to his good neame and nuncka, Maister John Kankerbury," and a sequel professing to be a reproof to Martin Junior from "his reuerend and elder brother Martin Senior, sonne and heire vnto the renowned Martin Marprelate the Great."

Other Pamphlets.

By this time the controversy was at its hottest, and the wits of the town amused themselves by joining the fray as combatants on the bishops' side, with cap, bells, and resounding air-bladder. For idlers, who cared little about the spirit of religion, there was in all this more than the enjoyment of a "flyting" in the days of old.

The last movement of the Marprelate Press was to a house in Manchester, where it was seized. Nevertheless, there appeared "Martin Marprelate's Protestation," and war was continued from Rochelle and Edinburgh.

John Udall was sentenced to death at the Southwark Assizes in February, 1591. Dean Nowell and Sir Walter Raleigh sought to befriend him. The Turkey merchants offered to employ him to teach their people in Guinea, so that if released he might leave England. Whitgift refused to grant the request

The Fates of Udall and Penry.

unless the merchants promised to keep Udall in Guinea until the queen gave him her licence to return to England. This was more than they would undertake, and Udall was left in the Marshalsea Prison, where he died towards the end of the year 1592.

John Penry had appealed in vain from the High Court of Commission to the High Court of Parliament in an "Appellation," published in March, 1590, which gave interesting details of his case. He also was condemned to death, and he was hanged on the Surrey side of the Thames at Chaucer's Watering of St. Thomas, starting-point of the Canterbury Pilgrims, on the twenty-ninth of May, 1593. To avoid tumult of the people, he was executed at a few hours' notice. Udall and Penry were both young men. When Penry was hanged the eldest of his four little girls was only four years old.

Although Penry was answerable for the publication of the tracts found in the name of Martin Marprelate, there is no full reason for questioning his own denial that he wrote them. Martin Marprelate says, in his "Protestacyon," that he never had wife nor child. Elsewhere he says that he is one person, and that he is not Udall, Throgmorton, or Penry. Neither Udall nor Penry would have written that. Job Throgmorton, a lively Puritan layman, was much suspected, and there were statements made in support of his identification. Dr. Dexter* has since suggested that Martin Marprelate was Henry Barrow.

Henry Barrow took his B.A. degree from Clare Hall, at Cambridge, in 1576. He became a member of Gray's Inn in the same year, and through the chance hearing of a sermon he made, as Francis Bacon said, "a leap from a vain and libertine youth to a preciseness in the highest degree, the strangeness

Henry Barrow and John Greenwood.

* "The Congregationalism of the last three hundred years, as seen in its Literature," by the Rev. Henry Martyn Dexter. Large 8vo. 1881.

of which alteration made him very much spoken of." He gave himself to study of the Bible, and joined in close friendship with John Greenwood, who proceeded B.A. from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, in 1581. Barrow and Greenwood wrote together Puritan controversial pamphlets that were zealous indeed, and over-hot in zeal, but free from the worst faults of the Marprelate personality and banter. Barrow became a friend also of Robert Browne, and defender of the persecuted Brownists.

In November, 1586, John Greenwood was arrested and sent to the Clink. His friend, Henry Barrow, was admitted to visit him there, and, being so trapped, he was detained a prisoner, to be brought before Whitgift again and again. When Barrow refused to take an oath unless those also who testified against him should be sworn, Whitgift cried out, "Where is his keeper? You shall not prattle here! Away with him! Clap him up close, close! Let no man come at him; I will make him tell another tale yet. I have not done with him." Barrow wrote in his prison an account of "The Examination of Henry Barrowe, John Greenwoode, and John Penrie, before the High Commissioners and Lordes of the Council, penned by the Prisoners themselves before their Deaths." The manuscript of this statement, a living picture of the practice of the High Commission Court, was conveyed abroad, and printed at Dort in 1593.

Barrow and Greenwood, after long imprisonment, were arraigned under a statute of 1580-81, which made it death to write or publish anything, with a malicious intent, to the defamation of the Queen's Majesty, or to the stirring up of insurrection or rebellion. They repudiated malicious intent, justly enough, but they were hanged at Tyburn on the sixth of April, 1593. Dr. Rainoldes told the Queen that "had Barrow and Greenwood lived, they would have

been two as worthy instruments of the Church of God as have been raised up in this age."

The belief that John Lyly wrote "Pap with an Hatchet," an anonymous piece of railing, published in 1589, against the Martinists, rests only on the contemporary guess of Gabriel Harvey.* There are touches of the common euphuistic manner in the introductory pages and clear indications of its authorship by a courtier and a layman, whose sole and avowed purpose is to oppose a piece of railing to the railers. "The Scythian slaves, though they be up in arms, must be tamed with the whips, not swords, and these mutiners in Church matters must have their mouths bunged with jests, not arguments. I seldom use to write, and yet never writ anything that in speech might seem undecent, or in sense unhonest; if here I have used bad terms, it is because they are not to be answered with good terms; for, whatsoever shall seem lavish in this Pamphlet, let it be thought borrowed of Martin's language." "I profess railing, and think it as good," again he says, "as a cudgel for a Martin, as a stone for a dog, or a whip for an ape, or poison for a rat." His wit includes malicious and unclean suggestions against Puritans, with frequent hints that the Martinists ought to be hanged. He quotes the syllogism of "a little wag in Cambridge,

"Pap with an Hatchet."

> "Tyburn stands in the cold,
> But Martins are a warm fur;
> Therefore Tyburn must be warmed with Martins."

He seems to be drawing to a close, but starts afresh when,

* "Papp-hatchet (for the name of thy good nature is pittyfully growen out of request) thy olde acquaintance in the Savoy, when yóung Euphues hatched the egges that his elder freendes laide (surely Euphues was someway a pretty fellow: would God Lilly had alwaies been Euphues, and never Pap-hatchet)."—*Gabriel Harvey*, in *Pierce's Supererogation.*

as he says, he was "writing *Finis* and *Funis*." Presently he says: "They call the Bishops butchers: I like the metaphor well; such calves must be knocked on the head, and who fitter than the Fathers of the Church to cut the throats of heresies in the Church . . . . If this vein bleed about six ounces more, I shall prove a pretty railer, and so in time may grow to be a proper Martinist." The intention seems to have been to reduce railing to absurdity, for the pamphlet ended with petitions for an end to it all.*

Nash's Pasquil Pamphlets.

Thomas Nash's next work, after the publishing of his "Anatomie of Absurditie," was to enter into the Marprelate controversy, in the character of "An venturous, hardie, and renowned Pasquill of England, Cavaliero; Not of olde Martin's making, which newlie knighted the Saints in Heaven, with rise up Sir Peter and Sir Paule; But lately dubed for his service at home in the defence of his Country, and for the cleane breaking of his staffe uppon Martin's face." In this character of Pasquill, Nash published, in 1589, "A Countercuffe given to Martin Iunior," in which he said to Martin Junior, "Pasquill hath taken vp your glove, and desires you to charge your weapon at him like a man. If you play with him, as your father and your selfe have doone with the Bishops heretofore, if you barke like a Curre and bite behind, he will have

* Professor Arber's "English Scholar's Library" contains in No. 8 his own full and careful "Introductory Sketch to the Martin Marprelate Controversy"; in Nos. 5, 9, 11, "Udall's Diotrephes," Udall's "Demonstration of Discipline," and the Epistle of Martin Marprelate; and in No. 15, Thomas Cooper's "Admonition to the People of England." From 1843 to 1846 there were reprints of "Puritan Discipline Tracts," with some notes, issued by John Petheram, of 71, Chancery Lane, which included "Pappe with an Hatchet," "Hay any worke for Cooper," "An Almond for a Parrat," and "Plaine Percevale," with Marprelate's "Epistle," Bishop Cooper's "Admonition," and other pieces.

a tricke with his heel to strike out your teeth. Whilst you consult with your Topicks to ground your reasons sure, Pasquill wyll come vpon you with another venewe. For he came latelie oversea into Kent, from thence he cut over into Essex at Gravesende," and so forth. This short challenge was followed in the same year by "The Returne of the renowned Cavaliero Pasquill, of England, from the other side the Seas, and his meeting with Marforius at London vpon the Royall Exchange." For printer's name there stands, in imitation of the Marprelate mystification, "If my breath be so hote that I burne my mouth, suppose I was Printed in Pepper Allie." Nash followed "Pasquil's Returne," still in the same year, 1589, with "Martin's Month's Minde, that is, A certain report, and true description of the Death, and Funeral of olde Martin Marreprelate, the great makebate of England, and father of the Factious. Conteyning the cause of his death, the manner of his buriall, and the eight copies, both of his Will, and of such Epitaphs, as by sundry his dearest friends, and other of his well-wishers, were framed for him.

> "Martins the Ape, the Monke, and the Madde,
> The three Martins are, whose works we have had.
> If Martin the fourth come, after Martins so euill,
> Nor man, nor beast comes, but Martin the Devill."

This piece, dedicated to "Pasquine of England," by Mar-phoreus, was followed in 1590 by "The First parte of Pasquil's Apologie, Wherein he renders a reason to his friendes of his long silence: and gallops the fielde with the Treatise of Reformation lately written by a fugitive, Iohn Penrie." Nash wrote no more, although he closed this pamphlet as if the knight Pasquill of England were only entering the lists. The grave bishops were invited to commit their cause to Pasquill, as their champion, who would

drive all before him, and root out the very name of a Puritan from under heaven.

Nash's pamphlets are much better than "Pap with an Hatchet." They are not coarse. There is good wit in them, and many a point neatly put. There is good reading well applied, including knowledge of the Bible. Nash uses honest argument from his own point of view in form of raillery, and if he does once or twice glance at the gallows —as one wishes he did not—he is, at least, not stupidly brutal in his way of doing so. Yet there is cruelty in the light touch of the wit that inserted such a clause as this in the last will of old Martin Marprelate; for two of the three men named were in the power of their enemies, and not long afterwards were really hanged—

"Item, I bequeath to Grenewood, Browne, and Barrow, my good friends, my porrock of ground, lying on the North side of London, and abutting vppon three high waies, where vpon standeth a Cottage, built triangle wise, with the appurtenances, onelie for the terme of their three liues; reseruing the reuersion thereof to my two sonnes, and the heires of their bodies as before, and for want thereof, to my heires at large of the familie of Martinists for euer."

On the other hand, it is to be noted that in "Pasquil's Returne" Nash thinks to depreciate Martin by comparing him to Savonarola.

Francis Bacon's Paper on the Controversies of the Church.

Francis Bacon was twenty-nine years old when, in his paper on these controversies of the Church, he reasoned against contention about ceremonies and things indifferent, strife in a spirit opposite to that of St. James's admonition, "Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath." Bacon thought men over-ready to say of their own private opinions, "Not I, but the Lord," where Paul said "I, and not the Lord," or "according to my counsel"; he desired, therefore, as to the Church controversies, to point out "what it is on either part that

keepeth the wound green, and formalizeth both sides to a further opposition, and worketh an indisposition in men's minds to be reunited." "And, first of all," he said, "it is more than time that there were an end and surcease made of this immodest and deformed manner of writing lately entertained, whereby matters of religion are handled in the style of the stage." Bitter and earnest writing came, he said, of an enthusiasm not to be hastily condemned; but to leave all reverent and religious compassion towards evils, to intermix Scripture and scurrility sometimes in one sentence, was far from the manner of a Christian.

It was an evil, too, "that there is not an indifferent hand carried towards these pamphlets as they deserve. For the one sort flieth in the dark, the other is uttered openly. And we see it ever falleth out that the forbidden writing is thought to be certain sparks of a truth that fly up in the faces of those that seek to choke and tread it out; whereas a book authorised is thought to be but the language of the time." Bacon thought that, except Bishop Cooper's, the pamphlets were equally bad on both sides.

As to the occasion of the controversies, if any bishops be as all are said to be, let them amend; men might abate some of their vanities of controversial zeal, think less of measuring the value of religion by its distance from the error last condemned as heresy, and care less about introducing new forms from abroad. Bacon, whose mother sympathised with the Nonconformists, avowed in this paper his own adherence to the established system in the Church, but he desired to urge on both parties moderation, a spirit of concession in discussing externals, and a better sense of Christian brotherhood; for "the wrath of man worketh not the righteousness of God." "A contentious retaining of custom," he urged, "is a turbulent thing, as well as innovation." He agreed "that a character of love is more proper for

debates of this nature than that of zeal," and trusted that what he said should "find a correspondence in their minds which are not embarked in partiality, and which love the whole better than a part."

In August, 1589, the rule of the house of Valois came to an end in France by the assassination of Henry III.

The Spirit of the Time.

The king in the preceding December had by assassination got rid of his powerful opponents, the Duke of Guise, head of the Catholic League, and the Duke's brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine. The League was therefore in open revolt against him; the Sorbonne released Frenchmen from their oath of allegiance to him; the Pope excommunicated him; and he was driven into alliance with Henry of Navarre and the Huguenots for the recovery of his capital. At the beginning of these days Catherine de' Medici died. While the King of France and the King of Navarre, whom the League wished to exclude from the succession, were besieging Paris, Henry III. was stabbed by an enthusiastic young Dominican. Before he died he acknowledged the King of Navarre his successor. Henry IV. thus became King of France, with a promise to maintain the Catholic faith and the property and rights of the Church. Many of his Huguenot followers fell from him, because they looked on this as an engagement to protect idolatry. But the League opposed him. Queen Elizabeth sent succour of men, and £22,000 in money. In September Henry IV. repulsed the Leaguers at Arques. At the end of October he carried the suburbs of Paris. He then retired on Tours, making that his capital. On the fourteenth of March, 1590, he obtained a signal victory over the Leaguers and the Spanish auxiliaries at the battle of Ivry, in which "the divine Bartas" fought.

Against England, Spain was yet gathering force. He would persevere, Philip said, even if he sold the silver candlesticks on his table. But England had risen to the occasion.

The golden time of Athens was the time when the soul of the people was stirred nobly in contest for liberty against the power of the Persians. The Netherlands were so much the better for their life-struggle on behalf of all that men should hold most dear, that while the southern unemancipated provinces were declining, the Dutch were adding to the streets of their old towns, new towns were erected by the industries that flocked in, and in the year 1586-7 eight hundred ships entered their ports. So England, trained for generations in the path of duty, faced the great peril of these days, held in the world of thought the ground which she had thus far conquered, and, gathering all her energies, went strongly forward.

CHAPTER IX.

The Faerie Queene.

OF SPENSER AND RALEIGH FROM 1590 UNTIL 1596.

EDMUND SPENSER, while busy in Dublin with official work as Clerk of Decrees and Recognizances in the Irish Court of Chancery—being, like Chaucer, in the service of the Government—employed himself also, in the service of God, upon the shaping of his poem of "The Faerie Queene." He was still unmarried. He had a sister, Sarah, who seems to have kept house for him before her marriage with a Lancashire man, settled in Ireland. On the twenty-second of June, 1588, Spenser resigned his office of Clerk in the Irish Chancery. His six years' lease of the forfeited house of Lord Baltinglas in Dublin, granted in 1582, expired in 1588, and Spenser then left Dublin to establish himself in a new home, with new duties, in the county of Cork, where he had become an undertaker for the settlement of some of the six hundred thousand acres of land forfeited by the Desmonds and their adherents. Spenser undertook for 3,028 acres, with the Castle of Kilcolman as a residence attached to them.

Spenser leaves Dublin.

Spenser bought his title from a first purchaser named Reade, and the undertaking of those who obtained such "seignories" was to develope their resources by the industry of "well-affected Englishmen" planted upon them in a certain proportion of men to acres,

Settlement at Kilcolman.

with freedom from taxes. The Government, on its part, undertook to maintain soldiers enough for their security. The largest grants for "seignories" were of twelve thousand acres, the smallest four thousand. Spenser's lands were an original grant of four thousand, reduced because conditions of plantation were not fully satisfied. In that respect, indeed, such lands were held subject to forfeiture. There were grants also of manors. Spenser, when he left Dublin in 1588, paid attention to the conditions on which he held the land. In 1589 he reported that he had six English householders settled under him. There was a low rent payable to the Crown, for Kilcolman and its lands, of £8 13s. 4d., which was to be doubled after Michaelmas, 1594. But the cost of bringing over English families, with other outlay upon tracts of land that constant warfare had thrown out of cultivation, was tacitly allowed, at first, to excuse rent-paying. John Hooker, writing of Munster in his supplement to Holinshed's "Chronicle," says that "the curse of God was so great and the land so barren, both of man and beast, that whosoever did travel from one end to the other of all Munster, from Waterford to Smerwick, about six score miles, he should not meet man, woman, or child, saving in cities or towns, nor yet see any beasts save foxes, wolves, or other ravening beasts." Sir Walter Raleigh had about twelve thousand acres granted to him in the counties of Cork, Waterford, and Tipperary, to which he added, in 1587, as his principal residence, Lismore Castle, rented from the See of Lismore, at £13 6s. 8d. a year. He had also a manor-house at Youghal. Raleigh's lands were, like Spenser's, thickly wooded where there are now no woods to be seen. Raleigh's vigorous mind was active also on his Irish property. He set a hundred and fifty men to work felling woods and making pipe-staves, barrel-boards, and hogsheads from the timber, for export to the wine-growers

Raleigh in Ireland.

abroad. He was hindered for years by official interdict, followed by restrictions on the trade he wished to open. He had also an enemy in the Lord-Deputy, Sir William Fitzwilliam, who claimed of Raleigh £400 as rent due to the queen, and caused five hundred milch kine to be seized from his tenants, some of whom had only two or three for their home use. The actual debt, said Raleigh, in representing the wrong done to him, "was but fifty marks, which was paid; and it was the first and only rent that hath yet been paid by any Undertaker."

Spenser Clerk of the Council in Munster.

When Spenser gave up housekeeping in Dublin, and sold again the Dublin office he had bought of his friend Bryskett, he bought, also of Bryskett, the succession to the office of Clerk of the Government Council of Munster. It was but a few hours' ride from Kilcolman to Cork, when he was wanted. Spenser was Clerk of the Council of Munster in 1589. He was described in October, 1589, as holding that office when Lord Roche appealed against a decision Spenser had obtained and acted upon touching rights of land, apparently in aid of the claim of a widow.

Raleigh's Visit to Kilcolman.

Sir Walter Raleigh, in 1588, was with the fleet at sea in the pursuit of the Armada. The many ships of his engaged in colonising, or in winning profit to himself and to their crews by weakening the enemies of England, caused Spenser to welcome Raleigh as "the Shepherd of the Ocean," when he went to Kilcolman in 1589. For in that year the rivalry at Court between the Earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh had brought Raleigh into some disfavour with the queen. Sir Francis Allen wrote in August to Anthony Bacon that "My Lord of Essex hath chased Mr. Raleigh from the Court and hath confined him in Ireland." Raleigh in Ireland began serious building works at Lismore Castle, and was battling with official obstacles to the opening

of a large market for his timber, when he found his way to Spenser at Kilcolman and became his friend. They talked together, friend with friend, poet with poet. Raleigh read to Spenser his poem on Elizabeth—his Cynthia—of which only fragments have come down to us, an imperfect twenty-first book of "The Ocean's Love to Cynthia," and the beginning of a twenty-second book, of Sorrow. Spenser read to Raleigh what he had written of "The Faerie Queene," and how highly Raleigh thought of it he told thus in a sonnet—

"Methought I saw the grave where Laura lay,
Within that Temple where the vestal flame
Was wont to burn; and passing by that way
To see the buried dust of living fame,
Whose tomb fair Love and fairer Virtue kept,
All suddenly I saw THE FAIRY QUEEN:
At whose approach the soul of Petrarch wept;
And, from thenceforth, those Graces were not seen,
For they this Queen attended; in whose stead
Oblivion laid him down on Laura's herse.
Hereat the hardest stones were seen to bleed,
And groans of buried ghosts the heavens did perse;
Where Homer's spright did tremble all for grief,
And curst the access of that celestial thief."

In the same year—1589—Raleigh went back to London, and took Spenser with him. He would introduce him to the queen. Spenser should read to her the three books he had already finished, and they should straightway be published in London. All Englishmen should now begin to see with the new poet's eyes—should have aid from him in shaping an ideal of the life about them, and a high aim for the years to come.

Raleigh takes Spenser to Court.

Spenser had in his college days confided to his friend Gabriel Harvey, it may be remembered, that Ariosto's masterpiece was a poem which he not only "must needs seem

to emulate," but "hoped to overgo." Of his "Orlando Furioso" Ariosto had, after eleven years of the most assiduous and careful labour, in the year 1515, forty cantos ready for the press. There was a second edition in 1516, and a third in 1521, greatly improved. These were printed at Ferrara. In 1526 there was a fourth edition at Milan, there were two more at Venice, with another, still of forty cantos, in 1530; but Ariosto wrote six more cantos before his death in 1533. His patron, the Cardinal Ippolito d'Este, when he presented the first copy of his poem, looked at it slightingly, and asked Ariosto where he had picked up all those fooleries. Pope Leo X., when the poet looked to him for aid, had kissed him on each cheek, but given him only that lip-service. The finest poet, not of Italy only, but of Europe, in the days of our Henry VIII., was left to poverty, until the death of his unworthy patron the Cardinal brought Ariosto, at the close of his life, into kindlier relations with the Duke Alfonso of Modena. But although the greatest poet of his time, and healthily intent upon the careful polish of his work, Ariosto was born to a day in Italy that did not favour earnestness of thought and word. He wrote the best of Charlemagne romances; yet the grace of its tales of chivalry and enchantment, marked everywhere with the touch of a true artist, was a grace worn with an air of playful half-mockery. The poet put none of his deeper life or the deeper life of Italy into his work. Spenser felt this. He knew the difference between a poem that is only a masterpiece of art and a poem using the same forms but planned to express through them the deepest convictions and the highest aspirations of a living soul or of a striving people, when he whispered to his friend Gabriel Harvey that he "hoped to overgo" the masterpiece that he must seem to emulate.

Ariosto and Spenser.

It may be remembered, also, that when Gabriel Harvey

was criticising what he had seen of "The Faerie Queene," in 1580, Torquato Tasso was overwhelmed with afflictions. In the following year, 1581, he was in a lunatic asylum, when his "Gerusalemme Liberata" was published. There were six editions of it in that year, and Spenser afterwards showed his delight in it by letting its influence upon him appear as he proceeded with the shaping of "The Faerie Queene."

Publication of "The Faerie Queene," Books I.—III.

Spenser's age was about thirty-seven when William Ponsonbie published a quarto volume, early in the year 1590, containing the first three books of "The Faerie Queene," "Disposed into twelue Books, fashioning XII. Morall Vertues." It had been entered at Stationers' Hall to Master Ponsonbye, on the first of December, 1589, as "Aucthorysed vnder thandes of the Archbishop of Canterbury and bothe the wardens."

General Plan of "The Faerie Queene."

Spenser's letter to Raleigh appended to the fragment of "The Faerie Queene," "expounding his whole intention in the course of this work," said only that "he laboured to pourtraict in Arthure, before he was king, the image of a brave knight, perfected in the twelve moral vertues, as Aristotle hath devised, the which is the purpose of the first twelve books; which if I finde to be well accepted, I may be perhaps encouraged to frame the other part, of polliticke vertues, in his person after that hee came to be king." It was left for the reader to discover how grand a design was indicated by these unassuming words. Spenser said that by the Faerie Queene whom Arthur sought, "I mean glory in my generall intention, but in my particular I conceive the most excellent and glorious person of our soveraine the queene, and her kingdom in Facryland." The student of "The Faerie Queen" must bear in mind that its "general intention" is its essential plan as a great spiritual allegory;

that this is consistent throughout, is the very soul of the poem, source of its immortal life; and that the "particular" significations, which are frequent and various, are secondary senses lying only on the surface of the main design, with which they harmonise, and to which they gave a lively added interest in Spenser's time. They suggest living examples of great truths, and bind the teaching to the lives of men.

Faery means in the allegory Spiritual. A faery knight is a spiritual quality or virtue militant, serving the Faerie Queene, Gloriana, which means in the general allegory Glory in the highest sense, the Glory of God. Read out of allegory, therefore, "The Glory of God" is the name of Spenser's poem.

Again said Spenser, in this explanatory letter, "In the person of Prince Arthure I sette forth Magnificence in particular, which vertue, for that (according to Aristotle and the rest) it is the perfection of all the rest, and conteineth in it them all: therefore in the whole course I mention the deeds of Arthure applyable to that vertue, which I write of in that booke; but of the xii other vertues I make xii other knights the patrones, for the more variety of the history." Spenser's ethical system was bound up with his religion; he painted, therefore, in his separate knights, each single virtue of a man striving heavenward, but failing at some point, and needing aid of Divine grace. Aid came through Arthur, in whom all the virtues are contained, who is filled with a great desire towards the Faerie Queene—the Glory of God—and who above all represents, in the literal sense of the word, Magnificence, since, in one sense, he may be felt to indicate the place of the Mediator in the Christian system.

If we had had all twelve books of the poem, which was left only half finished, they would have been an allegory of man battling heavenward with all his faculties, through

trial and temptation. The other poem, in which Arthur was to be not Prince, but King, would have been an endeavour to represent through allegory an ideal citizenship of the Kingdom of Heaven. Because "The Faerie Queene" was published incomplete, Spenser told of what its readers could have found in the whole work so much as was necessary to direct their understanding to the well-head of the history, "that from thence gathering the whole intention of the conceit, ye may as in a handfull gripe at the discourse." He gave the clue into our hands, and then left us to find our own way through the poem upon which he spent the best thought of his life.

Ethical Spirit.

Moral philosophy was divided into ethics, which dealt with the individual; and politics, which dealt with the community. Spenser's project was of two poems, applying each of these to his own sense of the relation between man and God. In Plato's "Republic" there were said to be four Cardinal Virtues — Courage, Temperance, Justice, Wisdom. In the "Protagoras" Plato added to these Holiness (*ὁσιότης*; the *εὐσέβεια* frequently mentioned as a virtue by the Socrates of Xenophon). Aristotle omitted this, distinctly separating Ethics from Religion. In Aristotle's Ethics the Virtues specified are Courage (*ἀνδρεία*); Temperance (*σωφροσύνη*); Liberality (*ἐλευθεριότης*); Magnificence (*μεγαλοπρέπεια*); Magnanimity (*μεγαλοψυχία*); Laudable Ambition (*φιλοτιμία*); Mildness of a Regulated Temper (*πραότης*); Courtesy, or Regulated Conduct in Society (described, but unnamed); Regulation of Boastfulness, which includes avoiding of the affectation of humility, in fact, sincerity of manner (also without a specific name); Social Pliability of Wit, that is, the power of being, in the honest sense of the words, all things to all men (*εὐτραπελία*); Justice (*δικαιοσύνη*). Modesty, Aristotle did not reckon among virtues, because he considered it to be rather a feeling

than a state. Having discussed these virtues in the third, fourth, and fifth books of his Ethics, Aristotle passed in the sixth book to the Intellectual Virtues, Philosophy and Wisdom, including Prudence (εὐβουλία), Apprehension (σύνεσις), and Considerateness (γνώμη). His seventh book, upon Pleasure, included discussion of Incontinence and Intemperance, and his eighth and ninth books were upon Friendship. In this system there was a continuous analysis, without any attempt to make up some definite number of virtues.

Upon the groundwork of this treatise of Aristotle's there had been built the classification of the virtues which was commonly received in Spenser's time. They were of three kinds—I., Intellectual; II., Moral; III., Theological. The Intellectual Virtues were—Intellectual Knowledge, producing Art; Wisdom, producing Prudence. The Moral Virtues were—1, Prudence, Mother of All; 2, Justice; 3, Courage; 4, Temperance. These were the four Cardinal Virtues. Then came, 5, Courtesy; 6, Liberality; 7, Magnificence; 8, Magnanimity; 9, Philotimia (Laudable Ambition); 10, Truth; 11, Friendship; 12, Eutrapelia (Social Pliability of Wit). The Theological virtues were these three—Faith, Hope, and Charity.

In Spenser's "Faerie Queene" there is no slavish following of this or any system. He plans his work as a poet. His theme is religious.

The Faerie Queene, Gloriana, stands for the Glory of God. A Faerie Knight is a spiritual power, and "faerie" means throughout "spiritual." He begins, therefore, with Religion; and as Una, the type of Truth, is associated with Religion, whenever the Red Cross Knight, St. George, who represents the Christian Warrior or Christian England battling for the Faith, is not misled into superstition, it may be said that Truth, which had a place among the twelve Moral Virtues, is represented here.

From the First Book, of Religion—the full man's first requisite, a pure mind—Spenser passed in the Second Book to Temperance, the corresponding need of a pure body and restraint upon all forms of earthly desire. Of Temperance Sir Guyon is the knight.

Next Spenser went on to Love, the first great bond of life and strongest of all powers that aid in the battle heavenward. To this he gave two books with their matter very closely interwoven, the subject being thus divided: Book the Third, Love seeking marriage, Chastity, of which Britomart is representative; Book the Fourth, Love in all other human forms, Friendship, of which the knights are Cambel and Triamond.

But Love needs to be joined to Justice, the second great bond of society, and due companion of Love. It is to Artegall, the knight of Justice, that Britomart seeks to be joined. The Fifth Book, therefore, was of Justice.

Then followed in the Sixth Book and in the Seventh, of which the subject is known from a fragment, the diffused counterparts of Love and Justice that temper the relations of life even among strangers, Courtesy and Constancy. As Love must be joined to Justice, Justice to Love, so Courtesy, that bids us yield our own opinions and desires, on all but points of duty, to the comfort even of a stranger, must be joined to Constancy, that keeps the mind firm as a rock where duty is concerned. But even then, Courtesy adds its grace to Constancy. So Spenser utters the strictest doom of Justice through the lips of Mercilla, who is a type of Mercy.

It is not possible to guess what would have been the theme of the next four books, had they been written. The twelfth, Spenser has told us, would have knitted all the allegories into one at the Court of Gloriana. One virtue in the old technical list was Magnificence. Spenser said that he assigned this to Arthur; and as Arthur distinctly

represents the bearer of the grace of God, without which man by his own deeds cannot attain, there can be no question of the fitness of the attribute of greatness to that which is done by help of Divine grace for man.

In every book there is a fixed place—the eighth canto—for this intervention, which, from Spenser's religious point of view, was the height of the argument. "Ne let," he says—

> "Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill
> That thorough Grace hath gainéd victory.
> If any strength we have, it is to ill:
> But all the good is God's, both power and eke will."

The only one of the six books in which Arthur does not intervene in the eighth canto is that of Chastity; for Spenser held the doctrine, afterwards expressed by Milton, that no evil thing has power over true virginity. But the close union of the third and fourth books is for setting forth one virtue in many forms; and the usual intervention in the eighth canto of the fourth book makes the very characteristic exception in the case of Britomart no interruption to the plan of the whole poem.

The form of a romance of chivalry was in its own day the most popular that could have been selected. Spenser not only followed Spanish romances and Ariosto's "Orlando," but adapted himself to the humour of his time, as illustrated by the "Famous Historie of the Seven Champions of Christendome," a pious romance of saintly knights and fair ladies, dragons and chivalrous adventures, told in Euphuistic style, of which the first part, which Spenser had read, appeared probably about the middle of Elizabeth's reign, the second part certainly in 1597. Richard Johnson, whose name is associated with this book, and who finished re-editing it in the year of Shakespeare's death, was not its author.

Outward Form.

Shakespeare also had read it; and since Elizabeth's time it has been dear to many generations of children. Spenser formed his allegory out of stock incidents in such romances, but he so told his story as to give to every incident a spiritual meaning.

The form of verse contrived by Spenser for exclusive use in this poem is a nine-lined stanza, called "Spenserian." It was made by adding an Alexandrine to the stanza that French poets often used in the "Chant Royal," a longer form of balade, called "Royal Song," in which God was the King celebrated. That eight-lined stanza was applied also to other uses. Marot, for example, who did not use it for his "Chants Royaux," made it the measure of his poem on the marriage of James V. of Scotland with Magdalene of France. Chaucer and followers of his had used it now and then, as in the "Envoye to Bukton," in the "Envoye to the Complaint of the Black Knight," in "Chaucer's A B C," and in "The Balade of the Visage without Painting." It consisted of two quatrains of ten-syllabled lines, with alternate rhyme; the second rhyme of the first quatrain agreeing with the first rhyme of the quatrain that followed: thus, *a b a b, b c b c;* this could go on indefinitely upon the same system—*c d c d, d e d e, e f e f*, etc. Now, Spenser's added line follows the system of the verse as to its rhyme, but destroys expectation of continuance by the two extra syllables, which close with a new turn the music of the stanza. Thus the Spenserian stanza becomes as to its rhyming *a b a b, b c b c*, C; C representing here the final Alexandrine.

The "Faerie Queene," it may be added, abounds in graceful imitations or paraphrases from the ancient poets, and from Ariosto and Tasso; incidents are also suggested by Spenser's readings in Arthurian romance, in the first part of "The Seven Champions," in the "Orlando Furioso," and in Tasso's heroic poem.

Let us now follow the allegory of "The Faerie Queen."

The First Book.

Twelve Faerie Knights, who represent twelve virtues, were knights of the Faerie Queene; they served the Divine Glory. One, a clownish young man—"base things of the world, and things that are despised, hath God chosen"—desired to serve, and rested on the floor, "unfit through his rusticity for a better place." Then came Truth, as a fair lady, to complain of the huge dragon—"the Dragon, that old serpent, which is the Devil"—who besieged her father and mother, an ancient king and queen, Adam and Eve, typifying the race of man. What knight would aid her? Then "that clownish person," who was to represent in the allegory Holiness, or the religion of England in Spenser's time—and that, too, in Spenser's form of it—"upstarting, desired that adventure." The lady told him that unless he could use the armour which she brought, he could not succeed in his enterprise: that was the armour of a Christian man specified by St. Paul in the sixth chapter of his Epistle to the Ephesians: "Wherefore take unto you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able to withstand in the evil day, and having done all, to stand. Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness, and your feet shod with the preparation of the Gospel of Peace; above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked. And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God." St. Paul used the image again in the fifth chapter of the first Epistle to the Thessalonians: "Let us who are of the day be sober, putting on the breast-plate of faith and love; and for an helmet the hope of salvation." When thus armed, the clownish man "seemed the goodliest man in all that company, and well liked of the lady." "If any man," said St. Paul, "be in Christ, he is a new creature."

The knight set out to battle with the Dragon, and—so much being indicated in the letter to Raleigh—here the first book of the Faerie Queene begins. The gentle knight was the element of holiness in the Christian soul, seeking conquest of evil, clad in the armour of righteousness, with the cross on his breast and on his shield. His steed represented passions and desires, disdaining the curb, but needing the curb as they carry us upon the chosen path. The knight sought his adventure to win the grace of Gloriana, which of all earthly things he most did crave. "The Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light and thy God thy glory." Beside him rode a lovely lady, Truth, on a lowly ass, more white than snow—patient of desire, dispassionate of temper—truth under a veil. "And by her, in a line, a

milk-white Lamb she led," guide and companion of innocence, herself as guileless, descended from the angels who knew man in Paradise.

> "Behind her farre away a Dwarfe did lag
> That lasie seemd, in being ever last,
> Or wearied with bearing of her bag
> Of needments at his backe."

The dwarf was the Flesh, with its needments; sometimes the bodily life of the man; sometimes, when the allegory took a wider range, the common body of the people, with its natural instincts. The theme of the book was opened with a general allegory of the contest with Error; then it became individual and national, painting English religion from the point of view of an Elizabethan Puritan, with spiritual aims that were not guided by those who in religious strife confounded the substance with the accident.

The day became troubled, and the knight and his companions found shelter in a wood, whose ways were the ways of the world. The trees in it typified the forms of human life: "the vine-prop elm" for childhood that needs large support; "the poplar never dry," freshness of youth; "the builder oak, sole king of forests all," man in mature strength building his home in the world; "the aspen, good for staves," to support limping age; and then the grave, "the cypress funeral." The other trees typified glory and tears, chase of meat, grinding of meal, griefs of life and their consolations, the shock of war and the wise uses of life, fruitfulness, completeness in form, that which is for us to mould, and that which is often rotten at the core. Losing themselves among the pleasant ways of the world, the knight and his companions took the most beaten path, which led them to the den of Error.

Before the battle with the monster there was flinching of the flesh, eagerness of the spirit. By the light of his spiritual helps the Red Cross Knight could see the monster as he was; it was a light from his glistening armour, which the brood of Error could not bear.

> "Soone as that uncouth light upon them shone
> Into her mouth they crept, and sudden all were gone."

When the knight, in the contest, was wound about with the huge train of Error, the poet cried, "God helpe the man so wrapt in Errores endlesse traine!" That was the help his lady urged him to secure. "Add faith unto your force, and be not faint." This represents what was a main feature in the larger allegory—need of the help of God, through

which alone the strength of man can finally prevail. Prince Arthur, as before said, represents this in the plan of the whole poem. It is he who bears the irresistible shield of the grace of God. Every knight in his labour for the Glory of God reaches a point at which his human endeavours would fall short, but for the intervention of the Grace of God —the intervention of Prince Arthur.

Of Error, when sorely wounded, we are told that "her vomit full of books and papers was"; and when the foulness of this caused the Red Cross Knight to shrink, she cast forth her spawn of serpents, small, "deformèd monsters, foul, and black as ink," which view of distasteful publications was shared by Elizabeth, when she endeavoured to hunt down their writers and printers.

Successful in his first adventure, and praised as worthy of

> "that armoury
> Wherein ye have great glory won this day,"

the knight retraced the way with his companions, and presently entered upon the sequence of adventures which typify the course of Christianity in England. They begin with the Church in its primitive days.

The knight's armour was worn that he might stand against "the wiles of the devil." That chief deceiver, Archimago, now appeared, representing as a simple hermit the first stage of what Spenser looked upon as the "diabolical faith." The travellers, courteously saluted, accepted a night's lodging in his cell. When there, Spenser represents through them a Church in the first stage of its decline to superstition. As they slept there, the guileful great enchanter created by his magic a deceiving semblance of the lady, now named Una, because of the singleness of Truth. The deceiving image represented sensuous religion. The Christian misdoubted the corrupt Church that yet feigned to be his, and missed the firm voice of his guide and comforter—

> "'Why, dame,' quoth he, 'what hath ye thus dismayed?
> What frayes ye, that were wont to comfort me affrayd?'"

The close of that first canto represented, then, from Spenser's point of view, the Christian before the Reformation.

In the second canto, simple Truth having been maligned by arts of the devil, the Christian was stirred to passion against her; she was deserted by him, body and soul, but at her slow pace she followed the man carried away by his swift passions. Then the devil, hater of truth, disguised himself as the Red Cross Knight, and there was the "diaboli-

cal faith" personified. The true Saint George—the religion of England—parted from Truth, met with a faithless Saracen, named Sansfoy, Infidelity, strong, careless about God and man, companion of the woman clothed in scarlet, who was mitred, jewelled, and borne on a "wanton palfrey"—by wanton passions. Then followed the shock of battle against infidelity, which only through the death of Christ has Christianity been able to survive—

> "'Curse on that Cross' (quoth then the Sarazin),
> 'That keepes thy body from the bitter fitt!
> Dead long ygoe, I wete, thou haddest bin,
> Had not that charm from thee forwarned itt.'"

The heavenward-striving soul could strike down infidelity; but then it took the woman clothed in scarlet, named Duessa, because of the doubleness of Falsehood, for Fidessa, the true Faith. She was another image of the Church of Rome—

> "Borne the sole daughter of an Emperour,
> He that the wide West under his rule has,
> And high hath set his throne where Tiberis doth pas."

Her the knight took for companion; but she appealed rather to his eyes than to his mind; he was—

> "More busying his quicke eies her face to view,
> Than his dull eares to hear what shee did tell."

He travelled on with his new lady, who could not endure the heat of the day, and rested with her under shade of trees, from which he plucked a bough to make a garland for her forehead. But the tree bled, and uttered a sad voice. It was Fradubio, thus transformed because he had doubted between the witch Duessa and Frælissa. That witch had caused Frælissa to appear deformed, Fradubio had then given himself to Duessa, till one day he saw her in her own true ugliness. Fradubio and Frælissa were both turned to trees, and

> "'We may not chaunge' (quoth he) 'this evill plight,
> Till we be bathéd in a living well.'"

Frælissa being thus transformed, and awaiting such release, could not herself represent true Christian faith, between which and the false Church Fradubio was in doubt. Spenser represented by her a pure

heathen philosophy, like that of Plato: purer and fairer than the "diabolical faith" that rivalled and supplanted it, but no longer an active moving power in the world. Philosophy must live with its votary a vegetable life until its powers are renewed by union with the Church of Christ. "A garden enclosed is my sister, my spouse—a well of living waters."

In the next canto, forsaken Truth, parted from men,

> "Her dainty limbs did lay
> In secrete shadow, far from all men's sight:
> From her fayre head her fillet she undight,
> And layd her stole aside. Her angel's face,
> As the great eye of-heaven, shyned bright,
> And made a sunshine in the shady place;
> Did never mortal eye behold such heavenly grace."

Within sight of men the face of Truth is veiled; we see her "as through a glass darkly." A lion that rushed upon her was subdued to the service of her innocence. Spenser used here the romance doctrine that a lion will not hurt a virgin. St. George, in "The Seven Champions," recognised the virginity of Sabra by two lions fawning upon her. Spenser's lion, whose yielded pride and proud submission made him the companion of Una, was Reason before the Reformation serving as ally of Truth against Ignorance and Superstition. "The lion would not leave her desolate, but with her went along," and presently they came near the dwelling of Ignorance and her daughter Superstition. Una called to the damsel—the voice of Truth calling to Superstition:

> "But the rude wench her answered nought at all:
> Shee could not heare, nor speake, nor understand;
> Till seeing by her side the Lyon stand
> With suddeine fear her pitcher down she threw,
> And fled away: for never in that land
> Face of fayre Lady she before did view,
> And that dredd Lyon's looke her cast in deadly hew."

She never had seen the fair face of Truth, and paled before the force of Reason. The Lion, "with his rude clawes, the wicket open rent," thus representing still the work of Reason at the Reformation.

Una and the lion, Truth served by Reason, lay down in the house of Ignorance and Superstition, whither by night came Kirk-rapine

with plunder of the Church to his companion, "the daughter of this woman blind, Abessa, daughter of Corceca slow." Kirk-rapine represented theft of sacred things and of the money of the poor, by men who entered the Church only for the goods they could take out of it; by the abbots and high clergy, the hirelings in the Church, false pastors who took no care of the sheep committed to their care, except to fleece them and devour their flesh. Kirk-rapine found in Abessa's den the lion, who,

> "Encountring fierce, him suddein doth surprize;
> And, seizing cruell clawes on trembling brest,
> Under his lordly foot him proudly hath supprest."

Doubtless, the general image of the force of reason in attack on the ill-gotten wealth of those who took to their use what was given to maintain religion and relieve the poor, was joined here to a particular image of the lion of England, as Henry VIII., with his paw on Kirk-rapine by the suppression of the monasteries. Therefore, when it is said of Kirk-rapine that "the thirsty land dranke up his life," there might be reference to the enrichment of the land by restoration of wealth that had been drawn from it to feed the luxury of Churchmen.

Archimago (the Devil), armed as the Red Cross Knight, deceives Una for a time by his like-seeming shield. In 1536, the year of the suppression of the lesser monasteries, three hundred and seventy-six in number, Tyndale was burnt in October at Vilvorde, praying, "Lord, open the King of England's eyes." It was the year also of the execution of Anne Boleyn. Though Henry had put himself in the Pope's place, it was to maintain the Pope's Church upon the six points most oppugned by the Reformers, and presently the Act of the Six Articles compelled Hugh Latimer to resign his bishopric. It is still what Spenser represents as "the diabolical faith," though disguised as the Red Cross Knight, that deludes for a time Una herself. Even Sansloy (lawlessness), next brother to Sansfoy, mistakes him. The suppression of the monasteries was followed by a rising in Lincolnshire, and by a more serious rebellion in the North, of men led by robed priests, and sworn to drive base-born persons from about the king, restore the Church, and suppress heresy. Lawlessness gathered force. But unbelief, and lawlessness, and joylessness—the three Saracen (that is, infidel) brothers, Sansfoi (without fidelity to God), Sansloi (without fidelity to man), Sansjoy (without joys of the faithful)—are represented as the friends and comrades of Archimago and Duessa. Archimago, armed as the Red Cross Knight, was overthrown by Sansloi, and recognised as a friend. Then Sansloi, who

"—— was strong, and of so mighty corse,
As ever wielded spear in warlike hand,"

slew the lion (Reason cannot resist the brute force of Lawlessness), and made Una his prey. The part of Reason in the allegory is at an end; the final triumph is not to be through force of human intellect, but by the grace of God.

The Red Cross Knight was taken by Duessa to the House of Pride —the Pope's Church in its earthly glory. Pride rode in state upon a chariot drawn by the other Deadly Sins, with Satan himself for driver. When they came back into the House of Pride, Sansjoy was there, burning with wrath against the knight by whom Sansfoy, his brother, had been overcome. Combat with Sansjoy was assigned to the next day, and that day closed with a feast over which Gluttony was steward, and with sleep where Sloth was chamberlain.

The next canto—the fifth—tells of the combat with Sansjoy. The false Duessa gave her heart to Joylessness, and sheltered him from the last assault by cover of a magic cloud. The knight retained as his trophy the shield of Sansfoy, but Duessa, "daughter of deceit and shame," betook herself with Night, whose nephews the three Saracens are, to Sansjoy, hidden in the shades of hell. There she committed him to care of Æsculapius, and returned then to the House of Pride. But she found that the Red Cross Knight, not waiting for his wounds to heal, had already departed. The national perception of evil, represented by the dwarf, had caused England to break from the House of Pride, in which Catholicism was a familiar guest.

In the sixth canto Una is rescued from the power of Lawlessness by a troop of Fauns and Satyrs, who

"Within the wood were dancing in a round,
Whiles old Sylvanus slept in shady arbour sound."

Truth, parted from the Church, is not so much the prey of Lawlessness as to be lost to earth. In the waste places among "the salvage nation," she finds friends and worshippers. It is Truth worshipped for her own beauty by men little taught: pure Truth, adored by the heathen, who in their ignorance make her the "image of idolatries."

Satyrane, kin to this wood-born people, becomes a single type of what they stand for. His mother's name, and the name of his mother's mother, Thyamis and Labryde, are taken from Greek words, signifying passion and vehemence; and the name of his father, Therion, points to mere animal life. But Satyrane, type of the natural man, bred in the

woods, and showing in the outer world all the might and courage of his race, could feel the beauty of Truth, desire to keep her goodly company, and learn her discipline.

Thus the type remains. Truth—while the Church fails—is left to depend for safety on earth upon the natural man's common perception of her worth and beauty. Una was fixed with the wood-born people; they are exchanged, therefore, for Satyrane, who represents that which they represent, but represents it in movement and action. The devil (Archimago), in shape of a simple pilgrim, points the way to Sansloy, who has slain, he says, the Red Cross Knight. The old peril typified by Sansloy is renewed. Satyrane calls to battle the stout Pagan, who says—

> "That Red Cross Knight perdie I never slew;
> But had he been where erst his arms were lent,
> Th' enchanter vain his error should not rue,
> But thou his error shalt, I hope, now proven true."

Again there is the clash of strife; it is now Satyrane against Sansloy, who, seeing Una, seeks again to seize her, but is called from his attempt by the stout blows of her defender. Una flies from the scene, and that false pilgrim, the Devil,

> "when he saw the damsel pass away,
> He left his stand, and her pursued apace,
> In hope to bring her to her last decay."

The seventh canto tells how Duessa followed the knight escaped from the House of Pride, and found him disarmed by a fountain. The fountain itself was a type of that which he represented; it had been a nymph transformed by Diana because she "sat down to rest in middest of the race." All was not won at the beginning of the Reformation. It was no time for those to relax effort whose promise is that "in due season we shall reap, if we faint not." Spenser is now at the point in the spiritual struggle when all would be lost but for the intervention of the grace of God, typified by the bearer of the shield of adamant, Prince Arthur. The Red Cross Knight is listening again to the voice of Duessa, when, before he can put on again the armour he has doffed, he is attacked by "a hideous giant, horrible and high"—Orgoglio.

Against this giant Orgoglio (whose name is simply the Italian for Pride, equivalent to French *Orgueil*), the knight,

> "faint in every joint and vein
> Through that frail fountain that him feeble made,"

could make no valid stand. Duessa pleaded that he might live Orgoglio's bond-slave, whereupon the Red Cross Knight was thrown without remorse into a dungeon of Orgoglio's castle, while Orgoglio made Duessa his, gave her a triple crown, and set her, "to make her dreaded more of men," upon the beast with seven heads.

The time of escape was in the reign of Edward VI., the time of relapse in the reign of Mary, and the spirit of persecution is expressed in the description of the beast, who

> "Underneath his filthy feet did tread
> The sacred things, and holy hosts foretaught.
> Upon this dreadful beast with sevenfold head
> He set the false Duessa, for more awe and dread."

If the reaction under Mary be dropped from the allegory, the time of the sitting down to rest "in middest of the race" would be at the beginning of Elizabeth's reign, and the danger would lie in that part of the Church policy upon which, in essentials, Spenser thought with the Elizabethan Puritans. But it is better to take the thraldom under Orgoglio for the Roman Catholic reaction under Mary, and the help of Divine grace thus to come with the accession of Elizabeth. The dwarf of the fallen knight, who represents the body of the people, took up his armour and went forth in search of Una, found her, and told her all that had befallen since the knight was parted from her. Then came Prince Arthur to them, with his magic shield.

Prince Arthur, with his squire, drew near to Una, heard her distress, and went with her to aid the captive Red Cross Knight.

Here the seventh canto ends, and the eighth, which is in "The Faerie Queene" the chief place of intervention, opens with a stanza that clearly identifies Arthur and Una with heavenly Grace and steadfast Truth.

> "Ay me! how many perils doe enfold
> The righteous man, to make him daily fall,
> Were not that heavenly grace doth him uphold,
> And steadfast truth acquite him out at all.
> Her love is firme, her care continuall,
> So oft as he, through his own foolish pride
> Or weakness, is to sinfull bands made thrall:
> Els should this Redcrosse knight in bands have dyde,
> For whose deliverance she this Prince doth thither guyde."

Prince Arthur's squire blew a horn, the horn of the Gospel, at Orgoglio's gate.

"No false enchantment, nor deceitful train,
Might once abide the terror of that blast,
But presently was void and wholly vain:
No gate so strong, no lock so firm and fast,
But, with that piercing noise, flew open quite, or brast."

The Giant came forth, and after him Duessa on her many-headed beast, who was "bloody-mouthed with late cruel feast" of the days of persecution to the death. In the combat the Giant was overcome by the loosing of the veil over the covered shield, "the light whereof, that Heaven's light did pass," blinded the many-headed beast, so that he fell, and Duessa cried in vain, "O! help, Orgoglio, help! or else we perish all." Orgoglio

"has read his end
In that bright Shield, and all their forces spend
Themselves in vain: for since that glancing sight
He hath no power to hurt or to defend:
As where the Almighty's lightning brand does light,
It dims the dazéd eyes and daunts the senses quite."

When Orgoglio received his death-blow,

"—— soon as breath out of his breast did pass,
That huge great body which the giant bore
Was vanished quite, and of that monstrous mass
Was nothing left, but like an empty bladder was."

Then Duessa was given in charge to King Arthur's squire, and Arthur entered the castle of Orgoglio, which had for its porter Ignorance, Ignaro, with reverend hairs and holy gravity, who

"—— as he forward moved his footing old,
So backward still was turned his wrinkled face."

Taking the keys from him, Arthur released the Red Cross Knight from his dungeon, brought him to Una, and stripping the false Duessa of her scarlet robe, displayed her ugliness.

"Such is the face of falsehood, such the sight
Of foul Duessa, when her borrowed light
Is laid away, and counterfesaunce known."

After this allegory of the triumph over a form of faith that Spenser, combatant with all the bitterness of Puritan reformers in his time, opposed to the uttermost, and could only associate with wiles of the Devil, the Red Cross Knight, accompanied by Truth and heavenly Grace, proceeded to the house of Holiness, but met on the way (ninth canto) with a knight, Sir Trevisan (Portuguese "trevas," privation of light, from Latin "tenebræ"), flying in terror, who has seen "a man of hell that calls himself Despair." Despair had already driven to death his friend Sir Terwin, whose name, perhaps, is formed from "terra," earth, and the name-suffix -win, meaning a friend. The allegory is here continuing the development of the place of Divine Grace in Spenser's religious system. Unworthiness of human effort heavenward would lay the soul open to promptings of despair, but for the knowledge that "where Justice grows, there grows eke greater Grace." Despair tempts with the question:

> "Is not he just, that all this doth behold
> From highest heven, and beares an equall eie?
> Shall he thy sins up in his knowledge fold,
> And guilty be of thine impietie?
> Is not his lawe, Let every sinner die;
> Die shall all flesh? What then must needs be donne
> Is it not better to doe willinglie
> Then linger till the glas be all out ronne?
> Death is the end of woes: die soone, O faeries sonne!"

From Una, when the Red Cross Knight is yielding to the sense of his unworthiness, come the saving words that enable her knight to live and persevere, and arm himself for victory in the last battle with the Dragon:

> "In heavenly Mercies hast thou not a part?
> Why should'st thou then despair that chosen art?
> Where Justice grows, there grows eke greater Grace."

When, in the next canto, the tenth, the Red Cross Knight is brought into the House of Holiness, and there is an allegorical picture of man's body as the home of pure religion, the prelude to this in the opening stanza still lays emphasis on a final victory that can be attained only by aid of the Grace of God.

> "What man is he that boasts of fleshly might
> And vain assurance of mortality,

Which all so soon as it doth come to fight
Against spiritual foes, yields by and by,
Or from the field most cowardly doth fly?
Ne let the man ascribe it to his skill
That thorough Grace hath gained victory.
If any strength we have, it is to ill:
But all the good is God's, both power and eke will."

Rescue came, by God's help, with the Reformed Church under Elizabeth, and it remained only for England then to fight the good fight and overcome, after full training in the House of Holiness, where lives Dame Cœlia with her three daughters, Faith, Hope, and Charity.

After full preparation in the House of Holiness there comes, in the eleventh canto, the crowning adventure—the fight with the Dragon, as the Book of Revelation terms him, "the Dragon, that old Serpent, which is the Devil." The Christian warrior becomes then, in the twelfth and last canto, the bridegroom of Truth, Duessa forbidding the banns in a paper signed "Fidessa," brought by a messenger, who is Archimago, and who is discovered and bound hand and foot with iron chains. When the holy knots were tied that joined Truth finally to the Red Cross Knight, there were heard by men sweet harmonies of Heaven.

But the Red Cross Knight was bound to return to the Faerie Queene when his adventure was achieved, "the which he shortly did, and Una left to mourn." The allegory of his adventures is completed, and Saint George of England, through occasional appearances in other parts of the poem, had next to find his way into the unwritten twelfth book, where the several knights were to meet at the Court of Gloriana, and all powers of endeavour heavenward for the Glory of God were to be blended in one strain of music at the close.

Spenser believed that he had given aid enough for the interpretation of his allegory. In the introduction to his second book he told the reader that

"Of faery land, yet if he more inquyre,
By certein signes here sett in sondrie place
He may it fynd: ne let him then admyre,
But yield his sence to bee too blunt and bace
That note without an hound fine footing trace."

Spenser's "fine footing" has been traced but carelessly, while all readers have felt the sweetness of music, and

enjoyed the feast of imagination that "The Faerie Queene" offers to those who simply yield themselves up to a sense of the surpassing beauty of its pictures and of its deeply earnest spiritual undertone.

The Second Book.

In the second book of "The Faerie Queene," Archimago had escaped from his bands, and was again abroad laying his snares. The Red Cross Knight was not again to be deceived. But the Enchanter, enemy still to all good, met an elfin knight all armed, upright of carriage, and with countenance demure and temperate.

"Well could he tourney, and in lists debate,
And knighthood took of good Sir Huon's hand,
When with King Oberon he came to Faery land."

"Him als accompanyd upon the way
A comely Palmer, clad in black attyre,
Of rypest yeares, and heares all hoarie gray,
That with a staffe his feeble steps did stire,
Least his long way his aged limbes should tire:
And, if by lookes one may the mind aread,
He seemd to be a sage and sober syre;
And ever with slow pace the knight did lead,
Who taught his trampling steed with equall steps to tread."

The knight's skill in horsemanship shows Temperance skilled in control of passion and desire. In making Sir Guyon, the Knight of Temperance, one who had been knighted by Sir Huon of Bordeaux, Spenser applied typically the romance story of Sir Huon and Rezia, who, aided by Oberon, were the only lovers pure enough to bear every trial. The black Palmer has in this Book the place given to Una in the legend of the Red Cross Knight. He is the quality idealised from which the knight is parted only when he is astray. Archimago, in feigned shape of a poor man, who quaked in every limb, stopped Sir Guyon's steed, with false accusation of a wrong done by a knight who bore a Red Cross on his shield. Sir Guyon could not readily believe ill of that fellow-adventurer—

"A right good knight, and true of word iwis:
I present was, and can it witness well,

When arms he swore, and straight did enterpris
Th' adventure of *the Errant Damozel*,
In which he hath great glory won, as I hear tell."

Duessa, who professed herself the injured virgin, had been found in the wilderness by Archimagŏ, despoiled of her proud ornaments and borrowed beauty. Arthur had stripped her of those, but Archimago had re-clothed her, and craftily devised himself to be her squire. But when Archimago had brought Guyon to the knight whom he accused, the Knight of Temperance had power to restrain himself when in the act of running, spear in rest, and came to a fair understanding with his friend. The aged Palmer, Guyon's companion, exalted the achievement of Saint George—

"But wretched we, where ye have left your mark
Must now anew begin like race to run."

And the Red Cross Knight answered—

"His be the praise that this achievement wrought,
Who made my hand the organ of His might;
More than goodwill to me attribute nought,
For all I did, I did but as I ought."

To Sir Guyon, whose pageant was next to ensue, he wished success according to his thought; and so they parted with goodwill from each to each. This opening serves as transition from the First Book to the Second, of which the special allegory now begins to be developed.

"Then Guyon forward gan his voyage make
With his black Palmer that him guided still;
Still he him guided over dale and hill,
And with his steady staff did point his way:
His race with reason and with words his will
From foul Intemperance he oft did stay,
And suffered not in wrath his hasty steps to stray."

As they passed by a forest-side they heard a dying woman's voice in lament over a babe that had been witness of his father's fall. Sir Guyon, dismounting, pressed into the thicket, and found the woman with a dagger in her bosom, bleeding by a fountain; a babe in her lap played with his little hands in her blood; beside them both lay the dead body of a knight, and blood sprinkled his armour. Guyon removed the dagger, stayed the bleeding, and learned from the wretched

mother before she died that the knight who lay on the grass lifeless was the good Sir Mordant—

> " Was,—aye the while, that he is not so now !—
> My lord, my love ; my dear lord, my dear love ! "

When she was about to be a mother he had left her to ride forth, as custom was, in search of adventures. He had come into the bower of Acrasia—

> " Acrasia, a false enchanteress
> That many errant knights hath foul fordone ;
> Within a wandering island, that doth run
> And stray in perilous gulf her dwelling is.
> Fair sir, if ever there ye travel, shun
> The curséd land where many wend amiss,
> And know it by the name ; it hight the Bower of Bliss."

Now Acrasia has in this Book the place taken by the Dragon in the legend of the Red Cross Knight. She is named from a Greek word (ἀκρασία) meaning want of power or command over oneself, incontinence, and is the evil opposite to the virtue represented by Sir Guyon. The duty of the Knight of Temperance is to find Acrasia, bind her, and destroy her Bower of Bliss. This opening adventure shows her work among the men who yield to her enchantments. "Her bliss," says the dying mother, whose name is Amavia—

> " Her bliss is all in pleasure and delight,
> Wherewith she makes her lovers drunken mad ;
> And then with words and weeds of wondrous might,
> On them she works her will to uses bad.
> My liefest lord she thus beguiléd had ;
> For he was flesh ; all flesh doth frailty breed ;
> Whom when I heard to ben so ill bestad,
> Weak wretch, I wrapt myself in palmer's weed,
> And cast to seek him forth through danger and great dreed."

On her way through the woods her child was born. She found her husband lost in sensual delight, by wisdom recovered him to better will, and drew him away from Acrasia, who gave him at parting a cup charmed with these verses :

> " Sad Verse, give Death to him that Death does give,
> And loss of love to her that loves to live,
> So soon as Bacchus with the Nymph does link."

So they departed, but the charm was fulfilled, and Mordant died when he stooped to drink of this well. Amavia, who had stabbed herself, died in passion of grief as she was ending her tale, and Sir Guyon saw feebleness of nature clothed in flesh where Passion has robbed Reason of her sway.

Then Sir Guyon and the Palmer buried these victims of intemperance, the strong through pleasure and the weak through pain; and Guyon cut with the dead knight's sword a lock from the hair of each, mixed it with blood and earth, and cast it into the grave with a devout oath that he would not forbear due vengeance on Acrasia.

So ends the first canto of the story of the Knight of Temperance. In the second canto we read first how Sir Guyon took the child in his arms with heartfelt pity. He knelt to wash the blood from the child's limbs—"so love does loathe disdainful nicety"; a line parallel to another of Spenser's, "Entire affection hateth nicer hands";—but all his washing was in vain; the stains remained. The Palmer told him that this fountain had been a nymph who, when pursued by Faunus, prayed to Diana that she might die a maid. The goddess heard, and changed her to a stone welling out streams of tears.

> "And yet her virtues in her water bide,
> For it is chaste and pure as purest snow,
> Ne lets her waves with any filth be dyed,
> But ever, like herself, unstainéd hath been tried."

Let the blood stay then on the babe's hands,

> "That as a sacred symbol it may dwell
> In her son's flesh, to mind revengément,
> And be for all chaste dames an endless monument."

Of all thralls to evil the victims of Acrasia are those in whom sins of the fathers most cruelly taint the children's lives. They left the fountain, the Palmer carrying the babe, Sir Guyon its father's armour, but when they came to the place where Guyon had left his horse, it was not there. We learn afterwards how it had been stolen by Braggadochio. On foot, therefore, the Knight and his black Palmer proceeded with their burdens till they came to a strong castle built on a rock, wherein there dwelt three sisters. Medina, the second sister, far excelled the other two, for she represented the golden mean between sisters of whom Elissa, the elder sister, froward and always full of discontent, had Sir Hudibras for lover,

"an hardy man,
Yet not so good of deeds as great of name,
Which he by many rash adventures wan,
Since errant arms to sew he first began.
More huge in strength than wise in works he was,
And reason with foolhardise overran;
Stern melancholy did his courage pass,
And was, for terror more, all armed in shining brass."

The younger sister of Medina was Perissa (name from the Greek *περισσός*, above measure, more than enough), and she was suited in a lover with Sansloy. The lovers of Elissa and Perissa were at feud. Both sallied out against the stranger knight, but before they reached him were at blows together. The Knight of Temperance sought vainly to pacify them. While they beat at him fiercely, Medina came to part them, and exhorted them to peace with gracious words that restrained their rancour. She made them all her guests, and after her fairly attempered feast called on Sir Guyon to tell upon what adventure he was bound. He told how he had been enrolled by Gloriana, that great Queen, in the Order of Maidenhead; how that old Palmer had come to Gloriana's yearly feast, and sought redress against the mischiefs of a wicked fay, the same of whom he also told how she had wrought the deaths of Mordant and Amavia.

The third canto shows how Sir Guyon left in charge of Medina the babe, whom he called Ruddymane, a name that should hereafter remind him of the vengeance due on those who had wrought his parents' death. We should have had a sequel to this incident if Spenser's plan had been completed. The Knight of Temperance went forth on foot with measured pace, and the canto tells how he lost the horse that he does not recover till we come to the third canto of Book the Fifth. Throughout the whole legend of Temperance its knight is on foot. His horse and spear have been purloined by Braggadochio,

"One that to bounty never cast his mind,
Ne thought of honour ever did assay
His baser breast, but in his kestrel kind
A pleasing vein of glory he did find."

Braggadochio will often reappear in the poem as the false aping the true; type of all baseness underlying the endeavour to seem that which we cannot be. Provided thus with lance and steed, Braggadochio with threat of arms and a big thundering voice subdued a wretched idler by

the wayside, Trompart, who willingly became his thrall, and serving as his squire soon found his folly, flattered him and aided him with "cunning sleights and practick knavery." This well-consorted pair was met by Archimago, who now desired ill to Guyon. Trompart described his master as a great adventurer whose spear could make a thousand groan. Archimago, glad to meet so doughty a hero, complained to him of wrongs done by Sir Guyon and the Red Cross Knight. Braggadochio breathed vengeance and, with extravagant boast of his own prowess, eagerness for the fray. Archimago urged need of a sword against such antagonists as these. Braggadochio said he had sworn once, when he killed seven knights with one sword, never to wear sword again unless it were that of the noblest knight on earth. "I will get you that," said Archimago, "for now the best and noblest knight alive is Prince Arthur, and by to-morrow you shall have his sword by your side." With these words Archimago vanished, flying on the wings of the north wind spread at his command. Braggadochio and Trompart, nearly dead with fright, "both fled at once, ne ever back returnéd eye."

Flying in fear through a green forest, Braggadochio and Trompart heard the sound of a shrill horn, at which the feigned knight fell from his horse and crept into a bush, but Trompart stayed to see who came. It was a goodly huntress, glorious in beauty, with a boar-spear in her hand. At sight of her, who seemed a goddess, Trompart was dismayed. She asked the course of a hart wounded by her arrow. When Trompart began to answer she saw a stir in the bush that concealed Braggadochio, and advanced her spear, in mind to mark the beast, but Trompart intervened, and with that, Braggadochio

> "crawled out of his nest,
> Forth creeping on his caitiff hands and thighs,
> And standing stoutly up, his lofty crest
> Did fiercely shake and rouse, as coming late from rest."

Charmed with her beauty, Braggadochio advanced himself, and wondered at so fair a lady in the woods. "The Wood is fit for beasts, the Court is fit for thee."

She answered with wise words upon the toil by which alone true Honour can be won—

> "Before her gate high God did sweat ordain,
> And wakeful watches ever to abide:
> But easy is the way and passage plain
> To Pleasure's palace; it may soon be spied,
> And day and night her doors to all stand open wide.

"'In Princes' Court,'—the rest she would have said,
But that the foolish man, filled with delight
Of her sweet words—"

showed all the baseness of his nature; whereupon, menacing him with her javelin, she fled, and he had not courage to follow, but remounted Guyon's horse and travelled on with Trompart. This is the first appearance of Belphœbe, who is not yet named.

The next canto—the fourth—returns to Guyon—who came where

"A mad man, or that feignéd mad to bee,
Drew by the heare along upon the grownd
A handsome stripling with great crueltee,
Whom sore he bett, and gor'd with many a wownd,
That cheekes with teares, and sydes with blood, did
all abownd."

There followed him a lame reviling hag, whose loathly grey locks were all in front, but all behind was bald and worn away.

The madman was Furor, and the hag his mother, Occasion, stirring him to strife. Attacked by Furor, the Knight of Temperance replied with blow for blow, but was taught by the Palmer that he is not so to be subdued. To tame the frantic son he must begin with the mother, bind and withdraw Occasion. Her Guyon seized then by the forelock, fastened a lock upon her tongue, and bound her hands. Furor fled, and he also was fettered by the force of Temperance. Then Guyon turned to the youth whom Furor was misusing. It was Phedon, to whom a false friend, Philemon, had traduced fair Claribel, his chosen bride, and shown false evidence of her unworthiness. In fury he had first slain his innocent mistress, and then, finding how he had been deceived, had poisoned his false friend. Then, following in wrath his friend's accomplice, he had become Furor's prey. The Palmer was counselling Phedon against unbridled passion, when there ran to them a varlet with two sharp darts in his hand and a brazen shield,

"On which was drawen fair, in colours fit,
A flaming fire in midst of bloody field,
And round about the wreath these words were writ,
Burnt I do burn."

This was Atin—Strife—who bade Guyon fly the place, for Pyrochles was on his way thither, against whom no enemy could stand unhurt. Pyrochles, brother of Cymochles, descended from Erebus and Night,

delights only in blood and spoil. "His am I, Atin, his in wrong and right." Atin has been sent before by Pyrochles, "to seek Occasion, wheresoe'er she be."

> "'Madman,' said then the Palmer, 'that does seek
> Occasion to wrath and cause of strife;
> She comes unsought, and shunnéd follows eke.
> Happy, who can abstain when rancour rife
> Kindles revenge and threats his rusty knife;
> Woe never wants where every cause is caught,
> And rash Occasion makes unquiet life.'
> 'Then lo, where bound she sits whom thou hast sought,'
> Said Guyon; 'let that message to thy lord be brought.'"

Then Atin, who reviled the knight for using his strength against weak old women, threw at the breast of Guyon one of his darts "headed with ire and vengeful despite"; but Guyon was wary, and it rebounded harmless from his shield.

In the fifth canto, Pyrochles—whose name for fitful wrath is taken from the Greek word for fire, as that of his brother, Cymochles, is taken from the waves—rushed upon Guyon, who fought with him till he caused him to stoop, and then, "tempering the passion with advisement slow," restrained his hand and gave life to his enemy upon condition of allegiance to him who gave it. Pyrochles wondered at his bounty, and was generously told that never was a conqueror but sometimes had the worse.

> "Loss is no shame, nor to be less than foe;
> But to be lesser than himself doth mar
> Both loser's lot, and victor's praise also:
> Vain others' overthrows whose self doth overthrow."

Pyrochles urged that Occasion ought to be set free. Sir Guyon yielded her to him. Then Pyrochles began to break the bands of Occasion and Furor her son, and the hag straight defied both knights,

> "The one, said she,
> Because he won; the other because he
> Was won: so matter did she make of nought
> To stir up strife, and do them disagree."

Furor was soon urged by her to attack Pyrochles, his deliverer, and drag him through the mire until he called the Knight of Temperance to

be his helper. Guyon obeyed; but Atin, thinking his master slain, hurried to tell Cymochles of his fall. The dearest dame of Cymochles was Acrasia in her Bower of Bliss. There Atin found him sojourning, and drew him thence to be avenged

> "On him that did Pyrochles dear dismay.
> So proudly pricketh on his courser strong,
> And Atin aye him pricks with spurs of shame and wrong."

So ends the fifth canto, and the sixth changes for a time the form of the Intemperance that is in all forms to be overcome.

It is a harder lesson to learn continence in joyous pleasure than in grievous pain. Cymochles, in pursuit of Guyon, with wrath kindled by Atin, came to the border of the Idle Lake, where Phædria in her little gondola, decked with boughs and arbours woven cunningly, moved without oar or pilot at her own sweet will. She sang and laughed and made gay solace to herself, took Cymochles on board, but pushed from shore, refusing to take Atin. She beguiled the wrath of Cymochles with idle mirth, and landed him, not on the other shore, but on a floating island. And then she placed his head upon her lap in a fair, shady vale, where all allured the mind to careless ease. She sang him there to sleep with a love-lay against man's desire for action: "Refuse such fruitless toil, and present pleasures choose." She left Cymochles sleeping and returned into her boat, then went again to the shore, and found there Guyon with the black Palmer. Offering to ferry Guyon, too, across, she pushed from shore when he had come into the boat, refusing to take with her the black Palmer.

Guyon was now parted from his black Palmer, as the Red Cross Knight had been parted from Una. He was ferried across the Idle Lake by Phædria, whose name is derived from the Greek *φαιδρά*, gay or joyous; but in her island of joys, still

> "—— he was wise, and wary of her will,
> And ever held his hand upon his heart."

Meanwhile Cymochles awoke, marched to the shore to require passage, met Phædria with Sir Guyon, raged and attacked him. Phædria stayed their fight by pleasing words, and as Guyon was not to be won by her allurements, she gladly carried him in her boat across the water to the further shore.

There he was landed, and found Atin where he had been left by Cymochles. Atin railed at Sir Guyon and shook his steel-head dart;

but Guyon mastered with reason his own passion of resentment and passed on.

But then came running on foot an armed and bleeding knight, who dashed into the water, battling fiercely with its waves. Atin saw that it was his master, Pyrochles, who burnt in flames of unseen fire, and sought in vain to drown himself in the thick waves of the sluggish lake. While Atin plunged into the lake and struggled for the rescue of Pyrochles, Archimago came to the shore as

> "one in an ancient gown,
> Whose hoary locks great gravity did crown,
> Holding in hand a goodly arming sword."

It was Prince Arthur's own sword, Mordure, that Archimago had promised to bring to Braggadochio. Pyrochles burnt with the flame kindled by the wounds of Furor, that cruel fiend of hell. But Archimago searched his wounds and renewed his former health.

In the next canto, the seventh, we read how Sir Guyon travelled on until he found the Home of Mammon, and here the Knight of Temperance was tried by a new form of temptation to excess. Mountains of wealth were his if he would serve Mammon. The elfin knight reasoned with Mammon against the intemperance of Covetise. Then he was taken by a darksome way under the ground, and among the evil spirits of the under world, to a little gate hard by the gate of hell. The door closed behind him as he entered with Mammon, and an ugly fiend starting from behind it, a covetous spirit, followed with overhanging claws to seize him if he coveted. Guyon saw the world of the Money God, and still resisted all his offers.

> "'Suffice it then, thou Money God,' quoth he,
> 'That all thine idle offers I refuse.
> All that I need I have; what needeth me
> To covet more than I have cause to use?
> With such vain shows thy worldings vile abuse;
> But give me leave to follow mine emprise.'"

But Mammon led, "him further to entise," and brought him to a door by which was a golden monster called Disdain, who bore an iron club in his right hand, and brandished his club for attack. But Mammon pacified Disdain, and led Guyon into a massive temple, wherein every golden pillar

> "deckéd was full dear
> With crowns and diadems and titles vain,
> Which mortal princes wore, when they on earth did reign.

There was a rout of people pressing about Philotimé (love of honour), fairest in creation till she fell into the under world. She held a chain of many links, reaching from heaven to hell. The chain was Ambition, and "every link thereof a step of dignity." Upon this men were climbing and shouldering one another.

> "Those that were up themselves kept others low,
> Those that were low themselves held others hard,
> Ne suffered them to rise or greater grow,
> But every one did strive his fellow down to throw."

Guyon courteously avoided the offer of the fair Philotimé to be his mate. Then Mammon took him to the golden apples in the garden of Proserpina. The branches of this tree overhung the dark river of Cocytus, where Tantalus, plunged to the chin, sought vainly to drink of the water below, or reach to the fruit above, and Pilate sought in vain to wash his hands clean. But three days of trial in this under-world had wasted Guyon's strength, and when he returned to upper air he fell into a deadly swoon.

This brings the allegory to its Eighth Canto, the place of the intervention of divine Grace, and again the opening of the canto shows distinctly the purpose of the poet.

> "And is there care in heaven? And is there love
> In heavenly spirits to these creatures bace,
> That may compassion of their evilles move?
> There is: else much more wretched were the cace
> Of men then beasts. But O! th' exceeding grace
> Of highest God that loves his creatures so,
> And all his workes with mercy doth embrace,
> That blesséd Angels he sends to and fro,
> To serve to wicked man, to serve his wicked foe.
>
> "How oft do they their silver bowers leave,
> To comé to succour us that succour want!
> How oft do they with golden pineons cleave
> The flitting skyes, like flying Pursuivant,
> Against fowle feendes to ayd us militant!
> They for us fight, they watch and dewly ward,
> And their bright squadrons round about us plant;
> And all for love, and nothing for reward.
> O! why should hevenly God to men have such regard?"

While Guyon was in Mammon's house, the Palmer, from whom Phædria had parted him, by further search found passage elsewhere, and coming near to Guyon, where he lay in trance, he heard a voice crying aloud to him, "Come hither! hither! O, come hastily." It was the voice of one who sat by Guyon's head, a bright angel, with many-coloured wings, fair as Cupid when his play gives pleasure to his mother and the Graces. The guardian angel called to the Palmer, whose faithful aid had been long lacked in hard assay.

"'The charge, which God doth unto me arret,
Of his deare safety, I to thee commend:
Yet will I not forgoe, ne yet forgett
The care thereof my selfe unto the end,
But evermore him succour, and defend
Against his foe and mine: watch thou, I pray;
For evill is at hand him to offend.'
So having said, eftsoones he gan display
His painted nimble wings, and vanisht quite away."

Archimago now appears again, with Atin, the swift-footed page, flying in front, and the two sons of Acrates, Pyrochles and Cymochles. Still Guyon lies in his swoon, with the black Palmer by his side. Archimago points to Guyon as their enemy, and they are about to strip him of his arms as he lies helpless, when Prince Arthur comes. Archimago knows him, and cries to the brethren that they must rise quickly and address themselves to battle,

"'For yonder comes the prowest knight alive,
Prince Arthur, flower of grace and nobiless.'"

The fierce Pyrochles, lacking his own sword, asked for the sword in Archimago's hand. When told that it was made by Merlin with magic power for Arthur, that neither steel nor stone could defend from its stroke, but that it would not strike against its rightful owner, Pyrochles rudely snatched it from him and bound Guyon's shield about his wrist. Arthur learnt from the Palmer Guyon's condition and his present danger. "But you, fair sir," said the Palmer,

"'whose honourable sight
Doth promise hope of help and timely grace,
Mote I beseech to succour his sad plight,
And by your power protect his feeble case!'"

When Arthur turned to the passionate brother for defence of Guyon in his hour of weakness, Cymochles asked, "What art thou, that mak'st thyself his daysman?" Then followed the victory of Arthur over the the two fierce Saracens; and when Guyon awoke and knew his deliverer, he

> "to the Prince with bowing reverence due,
> As to the Patron of his life, thus said;
> 'My Lord, my Liege, by whose most gracious aid
> I live this day, and see my foes subdued,
> What may suffice to be for meed repaid
> Of so great Graces as ye have me showed
> But to be ever bound—?'"

Arthur gave kindly answer, and proceeded with Guyon on his way, "the while false Archimago and Atin fled apace."

The next canto—the ninth—represents Guyon's visit to the House of Temperance, answering to the Red Cross Knight's visit to the House of Holiness, and preparation for the crowning victory. The House of Temperance is the body described allegorically, with Alma, the soul, for its mistress.*

* The twenty-second stanza gives a general sketch of the building before particular details are dwelt upon. In that general sketch the head and legs are first suggested, the trunk then placed between them. Mystical proportions, which actually accord with proportions of the body, are suggested, and the stanza closes with admiration of the harmony of workmanship in all. The circular part is the head. The triangle is formed by the legs when parted. The last proportion imperfect, a triangle that needs to be completed by the ground; mortal; and feminine, because thence the continuance of the race. The first proportion, the circle, perfect; immortal, because the seat of intellect; masculine, because that sex was associated by men with intellectual power. Betwixt head and legs the trunk, with the arms hanging by its side, "a quadrate, was the base." A piece of tape will show that the proportion of a quadrate so formed is in a man of natural figure as seven to nine. "Nine was the circle set in heaven's place." The same piece of tape that reaches from the shoulders to the knuckles, as the arm hangs by the side forming the longer side of the quadrate, exactly measures the circle of the head, the most exalted part of the human frame, "the circle set in heaven's place." This explanation of a stanza which has been the subject of much waste erudition, was first given by me in the *Athenæum* for the twelfth of August, 1848, in a short paper signed only by initials. It will be seen that the

The allegory of the body as the Castle of Temperance and home of the Soul is continued, until, at the end of the ninth canto, the guests are led into the chamber of Memory, inside the head, where Prince Arthur finds an old book of "Briton Moniments," and Guyon finds another book, "Antiquity of Faerie Lond." Then follows, in the tenth canto, an ingenious record of the romance of old British history from Geoffrey of Monmouth, which, leading up to Prince Arthur, breaks off abruptly, so as to leave Arthur's origin still mystical. Then it passes to the roll of Elfin Emperors till the time of Gloriana, and folds a double allegory in the sequence, which may be read as shadowing Elizabeth's succession from the preceding English kings, and also the succession of a pure and reformed Christianity from preceding religions—heathen, Greek, and so forth—in the spiritual world.

Returning then to Guyon and Arthur in the Dwelling Place of Temperance—the human body—the eleventh canto represents the war of the affections that seeks to bring Alma, the soul, into captivity. Here again it is Prince Arthur who saves. And now the Knight of Temperance, well trained for the last conflict, proceeds alone to the achievement of his crowning adventure.

Over the dangerous waves, with the black Palmer for steersman, Guyon passes, avoiding the Gulf of Greediness, the Rock of Vile Reproach, Phædria's enticements, the quicksand of Unthriftyhead, with many perils more, until they reach the Bower of Bliss,

> "When thus the Palmer: 'Now, sir, well avise;
> For here the end of all our travel is:
> Here wones Acrasia, whom we must surprise,
> Else she will slip away, and all our drift despise.'"

Then they heard melodies, with sound of falling waters and the song of birds, and saw where the Witch hung over a new lover—

> "The whiles some one did chaunt this lovely lay:
> Ah! see, whoso fayre thing doest faine to see,

---

reference to seven and nine takes away all doubt, if there could be any, as to the accuracy of the interpretation, which is only to be questioned by the learned upon the ground of its being ridiculously simple. It is not simpler than the necessary interpretation, in the following stanzas, of a moustache as the wandering vine, the nose as a fair portcullis, the tongue as a porter with a larum bell, the teeth as twice sixteen warders, and so forth. It is true that the simplicity of the right reading contrasts ludicrously with the load of erudition under which Sir Kenelm Digby buried the poor unoffending lines.

In springing flowre the image of thy day.
Ah! see the Virgin Rose, how sweetly shee
Doth first peepe foorth with bashfull modestee,
That fairer seemes the less ye see her may.
Lo! see soone after how more bold and free
Her baréd bosome she doth broad display;
Lo! see soone after how she fades and falls away.

"So passeth, in the passing of a day,
Of mortall life the leafe, the bud, the flowre;
Ne more doth florish after first decay,
That earst was sought to deck both bed and bowre
Of many a lady, and many a Paramowre.
Gather therefore the Rose whilest yet is prime,
For soone comes age that will her pride deflowre;
Gather the Rose of love whilest yet is time,
Whilest loving thou mayst lovéd be with equall crime."

That song was sung by Armida to Rinaldo in the gardens where he lay, with his force cancelled, drawn from duty by her charms. The two stanzas were translated from the fourteenth and fifteenth stanzas of the sixteenth canto of the *Gerusalemme Liberata*, and Spenser used other recollections of Tasso's gardens of Armida in description of the gardens of Acrasia. Recognition of such borrowing was part of the reader's pleasure, when all who were cultivated read Italian. The young man, Verdant, whom this singing lulled, lay with his warlike arms hung on a tree. Sir Guyon and the Palmer, drawing near suddenly, threw over the pair

"A subtile net, which only for that same
The skilful Palmer formerly did frame;
So held them under fast, the whiles the rest
Fled all away for fear of fouler shame."

Escape was impossible for Acrasia, who was tied in chains of adamant, while Verdant was released and counselled.

But all those pleasant bowers of ignoble ease Guyon broke down, and burnt the banquet-houses, razed the buildings to the ground. As Guyon and the Palmer led away Acrasia they were attacked by furious wild beasts. These were, said the Palmer,

"'Whylome her lovers, which her lustes did feed,
Now turnéd into figures hideous,

According to their mindes like monstruous.'
'Sad end,' (quoth he) 'of life intemperate,
And mourneful meed of joyes delicious!
But, Palmer, if it mote thee so agrate,
Let them returnéd be unto their former state.'

"Streight way he with his vertuous staffe them strooke,
And streight of beastes they comely men became;
Yet being men they did unmanly looke,
And staréd ghastly; some for inward shame,
And some for wrathe to see their captive Dame:
But one above the rest in speciall
That had an hog beene late, hight Grylle by name,
Repynéd greatly, and did him miscall
That had from hoggish forme him brought to naturall.

"Saide Guyon: 'See the mind of beastly man,
That hath so soone forget the excellence
Of his creation, when he life began,
Now that he chooseth with vile difference
To be a beast, and lacke intelligence!'
To whom the Palmer thus: 'The donghill kinde
Delightes in filth and fowle incontinence;
Let Gryll be Gryll, and have his hoggish minde;
But let us hence depart whilest wether serves and winde.'"

The Third Book.

The Third and Fourth Books of "The Faerie Queene" have for their theme Love in all its forms: Love seeking Marriage in the third book, the Legend of Britomartis, or of Chastity; Love in all other forms, as Friendship, in the fourth book, the Legend of Cambel and Triamond.

In the first canto of the Third Book, Britomart, its heroine, is met by Guyon and Prince Arthur, as they travel on from the House of Temperance. Guyon had sent Acrasia strongly guarded to the Faerie Queene. Against Britomart in knight's armour Guyon tilted and was laid on the ground a spear's length behind his crupper. The Palmer stayed his wrath at the unwonted fall.

"Thus reconcilement was between them knitt,
Through goodly temperaunce and affection chaste;

And either vowd with all their power and witt
To let not other's honour be defaste
Of friend or foe, who ever it embaste;
Ne armes to beare against the other's syde:
In which accord the Prince was also plaste,
And with that golden chaine of concord tyde.
So goodly all agreed they forth yfere did ryde."

Then there rushed by them on a milk-white palfrey a goodly lady, Florimell—who represents the complete charm of womanhood—pursued by a grisly Forester, a type of lust. The Prince and Guyon at once followed the Lady; and Timias, Prince Arthur's page, followed the Forester. Britomart waited a while for them, and as they did not return, rode on her way, with her own aged squire, who was her nurse, the companion of her adventure.

When Britomart had passed out of the wood, she came to a fair castle where there were six knights in a fierce battle against one before the gates. The castle was the Castle Joyous, wherein dwelt Malecasta, the Lady of Delight, who required of all stranger knights that they should serve her thenceforth, and if they had another love forego her or prove her, in conflict, fairer than Malecasta. The six servants of the Lady of Delight were beating on the Red Cross Knight, who declared himself true to the Errant Damosel, to Una. Four of them fell before the all-prevailing spear of Britomart, the other two submitted, and all entered the Castle Joyous, where everything ministered to sensual delight, and Malecasta, ignorant of the sex of Britomart, became vainly enamoured. At night Britomart and the Red Cross Knight, who joined her foot to foot and side to side, fought their way out of the toils of shamelessness, and in the early morning took their steeds and went forth upon their journey.

As they travelled on together, in the second canto, Britomart heard from the Red Cross Knight the praises of Sir Artegall, the Knight of Justice (who is the hero of the Fifth Book). The name of Britomartis was that of a Cretan nymph who leapt into the sea to escape shame, and was a name given sometimes also to Diana. Natalis Comes makes her a nymph caught in the nets while hunting, who obtained release by vowing a shrine to Diana. Spenser makes his Britomart a British maid who had desired to see in a magic mirror of Merlin's the image of the knight to whom her life was to be linked.

The image she saw was that of Artegall, the Knight of Justice. Then sprang in the heart of Love the desire to be joined to Justice; Britomart yearned to be joined to Artegall. In the third canto is told

how, with her loving nurse, old Glaucè, she visited Merlin, who had made the mirror, and learnt from him that it was her destiny

> "To love the prowest knight that ever was.
> Therefore submit thy ways unto his will,
> And do by all due means thy destiny fulfil."

Merlin set forth the British lineage of this elfin knight, with prophecy that touched the reign of Elizabeth, and added then, "But yet the end is not." Then Britomart and her old nurse resolved to arm themselves and go forth to seek Artegall.

A band of Britons, a few days before, had brought as plunder from a foray the goodly armour, fretted round with gold, that belonged to Angela, the Saxon Queen. It was hung up in their chief church, beside a mighty spear that Bladud made by magic art, and used in battle. The spear bore down every opponent. Britomart took this armour and this ebon spear, with the shield that hung by it. Glaucè, her nurse, put on another that hung by, and forth they rode by night, as page and squire, to find the Red Cross Knight in Fairyland, as Merlin counselled. From the Red Cross Knight Britomart heard much of Artegall.

> "At last their wayes so fell, that they mote part:
> Then each to other, well affectionate,
> Friendship professéd, with unfainéd hart.
> The Redcrosse Knight diverst, but forth rode Britomart."

So ends the third canto. In the next, Britomart rides till she comes to a sea-coast, where she sits by the waves lamenting the restlessness within her heart. Presently she is attacked by a knight, Marinell, who keeps that shore strewn with all precious things. She overthrows him with her lance, and journeys on. The sea with its prolific tribes stands here in Spenser's poem as it stood in the Greek myth that fabled the rise of Aphrodite from foam of the sea.

Marinell, son of the daughter of Nereus, the sea-nymph Cymoent, by an earthly father, Dumarin, was endowed by the sea-god with great treasure from the wreckage in the sea, and kept the rich shore against all comers. Proteus had prophesied that "a virgin strange and stout should him dismay or kill." He therefore fled from woman's love, but was laid low in tilting against Britomart on his rich strand, found by his mother, the sad Cymoent, and carried by the sea-nymphs to his mother's watery chamber, deep in the bottom of the sea.

Britomart went on her way, and the song returns now to the Prince and Faery Knight who followed Florimell, while Timias, the

Prince's squire, followed the grisly forester who pursued her. Florimell fled with as much fear from the Prince who followed her as from the forester. Nightfall parted them.

So ends the fourth canto. In the fifth, Prince Arthur is met by the dwarf of Florimell, who is from Faerie court. Her dwarf tells of her perfections, and that she is loved of many a knight, "Yet she loves none but one, that Marinell is hight." He is a sea-nymph's son warned by his mother against love. But fame now flies that he was slain five days ago. Four days ago Florimel left the court to look for him, alive or dead. Prince Arthur gave his help to the search.

Florimell, who is thus followed by the grace of God, is type of the whole beauty of womanhood, hereafter to be joined to Marinell under the prolific sea. The Squire of Arthur—he who blew lately the horn at Orgoglio's gate—was now hasting to do battle against the evil principle embodied in the forester, who turned against him at a ford, and, aided by two brothers, made stout resistance. Timias slew them all, but was himself so sorely wounded that he fell in swoon from his steed, and was found by Belphœbe—the same Belphœbe whom Braggadochio had encountered in the wood. Belphœbe's heart was pierced with pity for the wounded squire.

Belphœbe lightened the wounded squire of his armôur, and felt the pulses of his frozen limbs. She sought healing herbs in the wood,

> "whether it divine tobacco were,
> Or panachœa, or polygony,"

that is to say, heal-all or Solomon's seal. Belphœbe's attendant damsels found the squire's warlike courser, set him thereon, and led him far into the forest, where they laid him in a fair pavilion, and Belphœbe daily dressed his wounds. Belphœbe represents one part of the whole beauty of womanhood, combined in Florimell, who is of faerie birth. Belphœbe represents the purity, and Amoret, who afterwards appears, the grace and charm. Belphœbe, one of the types of chastity, heals in Timias the wounds made by the forester, who typified her opposite, and as he is healed of such hurt the love of purity grows stronger and stronger in Prince Arthur's noble squire.

The sixth canto tells how Belphœbe and Amoret were twin daughters of the nymph Chrysogonee, who was of faerie race; their father being the warm sunlight that shone on the nymph while she slept after bathing. The twins, born in the wood, were found when Venus had lost Cupid and was looking for him, with Diana's help, among the nymphs of the chaste goddess. Diana took one infant—Belphœbe—and trained her to womanhood; but Venus took the other—Amoret—and bred her in

the gardens of Adonis, whence all the progeny of nature comes. Amoret thus represents especially the outward grace and charm, Belphœbe the inner purity of womanhood. Many loved Amoret, but Amoret loved only Scudamour.

The next canto, the seventh, returns to Florimell, follows her in her flight, and tells how she sought shelter in

> "A little cottage, built of sticks and reeds
> In homely wise, and walled with sods around,
> In which a witch did dwell."

This wicked woman had a wicked son, from whose attentions she was obliged to escape before the dawn by flight upon her palfrey. The witch sought to appease the passion of her son, and sent in pursuit of Florimell a hideous beast—Slander. She sped to the sea, where she would rather drown herself than be caught. By the shore was a shallop. She leapt into it, and with the oar she thrust it from the strand. The beast slew her palfrey, and was devouring it when a knight rode by—Sir Satyrane—seeking adventures. He knew the horse of Florimell, and feared lest ill had happened to her, whom he dearly loved and magnified in all his conquests. He found also her golden girdle, which had fallen from her in flight. He attacked the monster, who was proof against the dint of steel, but when he bound him by

> "That golden ribbon which the virgin wore
> About her slender waist,"

he trembled like a lamb fled from the prey, and suffered himself to be led by Satyrane. But Satyrane hastily left his captive beast at liberty when

> "He spied far off a mighty giantess,
> Fast flying on a courser dappled gray
> From a bold knight."

Athwart her horse the giantess bore before her lap a doleful squire, bound hand and foot, whom she threw aside when Satyrane couched his spear to run at her.

Sir Satyrane, stunned by her mace, was plucked from his saddle, laid athwart her horse, and carried off, but also thrown aside that she might fly the more readily from the pursuing knight. The giantess and her pursuer sped away, and Satyrane, recovering, loosed the bands of the Squire who lay near. He learnt from the Squire that the giantess

was of the race of the Titans—Argante, daughter of Typhœus, and twin sister to the mighty Ollyphant. Argante and Ollyphant are new types of the force of incontinence. The knight who pursued Argante was the virgin Palladine: none but those who are chaste as she can match the giantess in fight. It was she who had saved the Squire of Dames and Satyrane. The Squire of Dames told how he served the fair Columbell, and at her bidding, to win her grace, had spent a twelvemonth in winning the graces of fair dames by courteous service. He had won three hundred pledges and thrice three hundred thanks. But he had now been for three years in hopeless search of a like number of ladies who had refused his suit. He had found but three, and only one of these—a cottage damsel—had refused him for an honest reason. The passage that tells this is the only passage in "The Faerie Queene" intended as a jest. It is a jest against women not to be too seriously taken; for in the forty-fourth stanza of the next canto—the eighth—when Spenser returns to Sir Satyrane, he speaks of him as having

> "ended with that Squire of Dames
> A long discourse of his adventures vain,
> The which himself than ladies more defames."

The beast sent after Florimell, when left by Sir Satyrane, had broken its band—Florimell's girdle—and returned to the witch, of whom, in the eighth canto, it is told how she made of snow another Florimell, and put within the dead image a spirit. The snowy Florimell is to true womanhood what Braggadochio is to true manhood. The spirit put into her was

> "A wicked Spright, yfraught with fawning guyle
> And fayre resemblance above all the rest,
> Which with the Prince of Darkenes fell somwhyle
> From heavens blis and everlasting rest:
> Him needed not instruct which way were best
> Him selfe to fashion likest Florimell,
> Ne how to speake, ne how to use his gest;
> For he in counterfesaunce did excell,
> And all the wyles of wemans wits knew passing well.
>
> "Him shapéd thus she deckt in garments gay,
> Which Florimell had left behind her late;
> That whoso then her saw would surely say
> It was her selfe whom it did imitate,
> Or fayrer than her selfe, if ought algate

Might fayrer be. And then she forth her brought
Unto her sonne that lay in feeble state;
Who seeing her gan streight upstart, and thought
She was the Lady selfe whom he so long had sought."

The false Florimell—the beauty without virtue—satisfied the witch's son till, walking in the woods with her, he met Braggadochio, who carried off the lady, mounting her on Trompart's steed. But Braggadochio next met Sir Ferraugh, and when retiring with bold words for a course of arms with him,

"Once having turned, no more returned his face,
But left his love to loss, and fled himself apace."

The snowy lady passed then to Sir Ferraugh, who believed her to be that fairest Florimell.

But Florimell herself was far away. When she put out in the fisherman's boat, danger threatened from the fisherman. Old Proteus abroad on the seas, hearing her cries, steered his chariot to her rescue. Proteus dragged the fisherman through the waves behind his chariot and then cast him on the shore. "But Florimell with him unto his bower he bore," an establishment attended by one maid of all work.

"His bowre is in the bottom of the maine,
Under a mightie rocke, 'gainst which doe rave
The roring billowes in their proud disdaine,
That with the angry working of the wave
Therein is eaten out an hollow cave,
That seemes rough Mason's hand with engines keene
Had long while labouréd it to engrave.
There was his wonne; ne living wight was seene
Save one old Nymph, hight Panopè, to keepe it cleane."

Then Proteus himself paid suit to Florimell in vain in many shapes, and when all failed, he fastened her in a dungeon.

There she is left awhile, and the song turns to Sir Satyrane, who with the Squire of Dames met Paridel, a knight who bore for emblem on his breast a burning heart. He questioned Paridel of tidings,

"Who thereto answering said: 'The tydinges bad,
Which now in Faery court all men doe tell,
Which turnéd hath great mirth to mourning sad,

Is the late ruine of proud Marinell,
And suddein parture of faire Florimell
To find him forth : and after her are gone
All the brave knightes that doen in armes excell
To savegard her ywandred all alone :
Emongst the rest my lott (unworthy) is to be one.'"

Sir Satyrane gave reason for his belief that Florimell had been slain by a monstrous beast, and told how he had found

"'her golden girdle cast astray,
Distained with dirt and blood, as relic of the prey.'"

Sir Paridel, dismayed at this, yet resolved that he would not turn from his quest. Then Satyrane and Paridel, with the Squire of Dames, came to a castle of which the gate, which ought ever to be open to errant knights, was shut against them.

The ninth canto tells that this is the castle of old Malbecco, jealous of his young wife Hellenore, and keeping her from sight of men. The adventurers, who are now joined by another knight (and this is Britomart), force entrance, and sup with Malbecco, who has one eye blind. Paridel and Hellenore, on the blind side of him, play Paris and Helen.

In the tenth canto Britomart and Sir Satyrane ride away betimes in the morning, but Paridel makes excuse to stay behind, and carries Hellenore away. He is pursued by the wretched Malbecco, who has ruined his own home by the curse of jealousy. Malbecco meeting Braggadochio and Trompart, quails even before them, believes their boasting, and is plundered by their fraud. Hellenore, deserted by Paridel, and cast to the wide world to fly alone, falls among satyrs of the wood, and is found by Malbecco content in such loathsome society, which she disdains to change for a return to his. He had lost his wife, and Trompart had purloined his wealth. Then driven to despair, Malbecco fled to the top of a rock that overhung the sea, threw himself down, but was so wasted that he fell lightly, where he crept into a cave and lived thenceforth

"In drery darkénes and continuall feare
Of that rocks fall, which ever and anon
Threats with huge ruine him to fall upon,
That he dare never sleepe, but that one eye
Still ope he keepes for that occasion."

He lived on toads and frogs, that in his cold complexion bred a filthy blood that doth with ceaseless care consume the heart.

"Yet can he never dye, but dying lives,
And doth himselfe with sorrow new sustaine,
That death and life att once unto him gives,
And painefull pleasure turns to pleasing paine.
There dwels he ever, miserable swaine,
Hatefull both to him selfe and every wight;
Where he, through privy griefe and horrour vaine,
Is woxen so deform'd that he has quight
Forgot he was a man, and Gelosy is hight."

In the eleventh canto Britomart chases the giant Ollyphant, as Palladine had pursued the giant's sister Argante. Satyrane follows the giant too. Ollyphant was seen in pursuit of a young man; but when Britomart approached he fled in fear from her.

"Fayre Britomart so long him followéd,
That she at last came to a fountaine sheare,
By which there lay a knight all wallowéd
Upon the grassy ground, and by him neare
His haberjeon, his helmet, and his speare:
A little off his shield was rudely throwne,
On which the wingéd boy in colours cleare
Depeincted was, full easie to be knowne,
And he thereby, where ever it in field was showne."

This was Sir Scudamour, mourning the captivity of Amoret, who had for seven months been imprisoned in the house of Busirane. Busirane is named from Busiris, an old King of Egypt, who in time of famine sacrificed all strangers to the shade of Osiris, the god of fertility, that the earth might again be fertile. The third book of "The Faerie Queen" ends with the embodiment of Chastity, freeing the grace of womanhood from perils of thraldom to animal life. Britomart alone is able to pass unhurt through the fire (of lust) at the entrance to the house of Busirane. Scudamour, scorched and burnt by it, had retired, and awaited outside the issue of the other knight's adventure, not knowing the other knight to be a maid. The pictured tapestries within told tales of the power of love to the eyes of Britomart.

"And as she lookt about, she did behold
How over that same dore was likewise writ,
Be bolde, be bolde, and every where, *Be bold;*
That much she muz'd, yet could not construe it
By any ridling skill, or commune wit.

At last she spyde at that rowmes upper end
Another yron dore, on which was writ,
Be not too bold; whereto though she did bend
Her earnest minde, yet wist not what it might intend."

The last canto, the twelfth, tells how at night there came terrors of thunder, lightning, earthquake, storm, and stench of smoke and sulphur. Then a whirlwind blew through all the house, doors clapped, and that iron wicket was burst open. Then came forth, as at a theatre,

"a grave personage,
That in his hand a braunch of laurel bore,
With comely haveour and count'nance sage,
Yclad in costly garments fit for tragicke stage."

He went into the midst of the room, and beckoning with his hand, as if to an audience, for silence, told by action "some argument of matter passionéd." When he retired, his name was seen on his robe in golden letters—Ease. In the "Roman de la Rose," it may be remembered, Idleness opened the door to the garden of love.

Then passed before Britomart the allegorical forms of the Masque of Cupid, which went round the room three times and disappeared where it had entered, the door being closed after it by a storm-blast. Britomart watched steadfastly till the next night, and when again the brazen door flew open she went boldly in.

What saw she there? A woful lady, bound by the waist with iron bands upon a brazen pillar. The vile enchanter sat before her figuring strange characters, with blood dropping from her heart transfixed with a cruel dart, but all his charms failed in their aim of winning her to love him:

"Soone as that virgin knight he saw in place,
His wicked bookes in hast he overthrew,
Not caring his long labours to deface;
And, fiercely running to that Lady trew,
A murdrous knife out of his pocket drew,
The which he thought, for villeinous despight,
In her tormented bodie to embrew:
But the stout Damzell, to him leaping light,
His curséd hand withheld, and maisteréd his might.

By the might of Britomart, Busirane was compelled to unweave his spells, heal Amoret's bleeding breast, and cause her chain to fall. So

Britomart led Amoret forth. The flame at the entrance was vanished quite. In the edition of 1590 Scudamour so recovered Amoret, and they were happy in each other. In the edition of 1596, the long absence of Britomart had caused despair, and Scudamour with Glaucè had gone in search of further aid.

So end the three books of "The Faerie Queene" first published. The date of the explanatory letter to Sir Walter Raleigh was the twenty-third of January, 1589 (Old Style, 1590 New Style). The volume was dedicated "To the most Mightie and Magnificent Empresse Elizabeth; by the Grace of God Qveene of England, France and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Her most humble Seruant: Ed. Spenser." When the first three books were reprinted, together with the second three, in 1596, the dedication appeared thus enlarged: "To the most High, Mightie, and Magnificent Empresse, renowned for Pietie, Vertve, and all gratious Government, Elizabeth by the Grace of God Qveene of England, Fraunce and Ireland, and of Virginia. Defender of the Faith, &c. Her most humble Servavnt Edmund Spenser doth, in all hvmilitie, Dedicate, Present, and Consecrate these his Labovrs, to Live with the Eternitie of her Fame."

In the first edition of the first three Books of "The Faerie Queene," the letter to Raleigh follows the text of the poem, and is followed by six pieces of commendatory verse—two sonnets by Raleigh, one by Gabriel Harvey, the other three by R. S., H. B., W. L. After these come seventeen sonnets addressed by Spenser to persons of high mark to whom he would present copies of his poem. These were Lord Burghley and Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Francis Walsingham, Sir John Norris (then Lord President of Munster), Lord Grey of Wilton, the Countess of Pembroke, and eleven more—namely, the Earls of Essex, Oxford, Northumberland, Ormond, Cumberland; the Lord Charles Howard, Lord High Admiral; Lord Hunsdon, the

Queen's High Chamberlain; Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, author of the Induction in "The Mirror for Magistrates," and of the last two acts of our first tragedy—

> "Whose learned Muse hath writ her own record
> In golden verse, worthy immortal fame."

Of the two last sonnets, one is "To the most vertuous and beautifull Lady, the Lady Carew," wife of Sir George Carew, then President of Munster; the other "To all the gratious and beautifull Ladies in the Court." All fairest dames have to be seen before the semblance can be drawn of the true Queen of Beauty:

> "If all the world to seeke I over went,
> A fairer crew yet nowhere could I see
> Than that brave Court doth to mine eie present,
> That the worldes pride seemes gathered there to bee.
> Of each a part I stole by cunning theft;
> Forgive it me, faire Dames, sith lesse ye have not left."

Spenser in London, 1590–91.

In London at this time—housed for a while, probably, with Raleigh, as his guest and friend—Spenser must have been well liked at Court, and often bidden to a great man's feast. Spenser had brought with him to London earlier poems of his, from which William Ponsonby—the publisher of "The Faerie Queene"—formed a volume of "Complaints," entered at Stationer's Hall on the twenty-ninth of December, 1590. Three days later the dedication of "Daphnaida" to Helena, Dowager Marchioness of Northampton, was dated on the first of January, 1591—the latest date that can be found to indicate for how many months more than a year Spenser remained in London. Men did not then willingly cross the seas or travel far in January. Spenser's well-being in many ways might be advanced by staying long enough in London to make many friends at Court. While in London in 1590 Spenser found Raleigh and the Earl of Essex and the Earl

of Warwick interceding for John Udall. Raleigh caused word to be sent to Udall that his opinions had been represented to the queen in a way that strongly affected her against him: "If you will write half a dozen lines to Sir Walter Raleigh concerning those opinions, that he may show it to her Majesty, he hopes to save your life. I know it is very easy for you to answer all these things; therefore do it with speed; and in your writing to Sir Walter take knowledge that he hath sent you such word." Udall's life was, as we have seen, saved from the gallows, but he died soon afterwards in prison. Raleigh's intercession was prompted by the soul of religion, that had drawn him, with Sir Philip Sidney and Fulke Greville, into generous friendship with Giordano Bruno. His mind was against persecution of opinion, and he had weak faith in the plea of necessity from danger to the State. When there was question of hanging all the Brownists, he said, "Yes, and what will you do for their widows and orphans? There will be thousands of them." Spenser's goodwill was to the higher aspirations of the Puritans, but he did not share their prejudices. This sojourn of more than a year about the Court in London, without deadening his quick sense of religion, may have confirmed a certain change that we feel as we pass from the earlier to the later books of "The Faerie Queene." The tone changes, so to speak, from the zeal of youth for reformation to the conservatism of middle age. It is true that, in the very outset, Error's "vomit full of books and papers was"; but this half-suggestion of an evil in the freedom of discussion—a suggestion then in accordance with the faith of statesmen—grows in the Fifth Book into an intolerance of speculation that seeks change in the established order of society. We feel in it an intolerance much more uncompromising than was in the poet's mind when first the gentle knight was pricking on the plain, yclad in mighty arms and silver shield. Spenser's religious life remained unchanged. His opposition to Catholicism never

softened. But official life, a year or more at Court, and large evidence of the unseemliness of conflicts poisoned by excess of an unreasoning zeal, made him resolute against all schemes of speculative innovation. He was Milton's forerunner. Milton looked back to Spenser as Spenser to Chaucer; yet it may be, that had Spenser lived in Milton's time, he would have sided with the King.

In February, 1591, a patent was signed granting a pension of fifty pounds a year, equal to more than three hundred in present value, to the author of "The Faerie Queene." Spenser must soon afterwards have returned to Ireland, richer for his visit by the strong friends he had made, and this addition to his means.

Spenser's "Complaints."

The point of view for all the poems in the little book arranged by Spenser in 1591 is expressed by their common title. They are, in different ways, all, as the printer said of them to the gentle reader, "Complaints and Meditations of the World's Vanity." Thus there is harmony in their variety, and Spenser limited his choice from among earlier writings of his own by this endeavour to produce a group of pieces all tuned to one music, all uniting for the various expression of one religious thought. The printer named as other pieces of like strain, versions by Spenser of Ecclesiastes and the Song of Songs, "A Sennight's Slumber," "The Hell of Lovers," and his "Purgatory," all dedicated to ladies. He named also, as other scattered pamphlets which he hoped some day to print, "The Dying Pelican," "The Hours of the Lord," "The Sacrifice of a Sinner," "The Seven Penitential Psalms," &c.* The published volume contained Spenser's "Ruines of Time," "Teares of the Muses," "Virgil's Gnat," "Prosopopoia, or Mother Hubberd's Tale," "The Ruines of Rome," by Bellay, "Muiopotmos, or the Tale of the Butterflie," "Visions of the World's

* "E. W." ix. 66, 68, 70, 72.

Vanitie," "Bellaye's Visions," and "Petrarche's Visions." "The Ruines of Time," dedicated to Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, was a series of mournful visions, forming a poem, in Chaucer's stanza, upon recent deaths in the Dudley family, and chiefly on the deaths of Leicester and Sir Philip Sidney. The genius of the Roman city of Verulam weeps by the Thames near the ruins of her city, and joining to her lament the praise of Camden, who preserves the knowledge of the past, deplores the ruins made by Time of human glory. Spenser probably used in this piece thoughts from the "Stemmata Dudleiana,"* inscribed in his youth to the Earl of Leicester, whose death here is lamented. Perhaps, also, Spenser did point in more than one passage of this poem to Burghley as an antagonist of Leicester's who reversed his policy, and was no friend to the poet. Burghley is likely to have thought the pension given for "The Faerie Queene" too liberal. Whether or not he did say, "All this for a song!" the thought of Burghley may have prompted the lines—

> "O let the man of whom the Muse is scorned,
> Nor live nor dead be of the Muse adorned."

He counts Walsingham happy in having Thomas Watson to give him poet's praise.† Sir Francis Walsingham was newly dead, he died in 1590,

> "Since whose decease, learning lies unregarded,
> And men of armes doo wander unrewarded."

Burghley, the Lord High Treasurer, lived until 1598. But the spirit of the whole poem of the "Ruines of Time" is expressed in its lines—

> "O trustlesse state of miserable men,
> That builde your blis on hope of earthly thing!"

* "E. W." ix. 69. † "E. W." ix. 163.

and all suggestion of particular example is subordinated to the universal truth. The piece closes with a dozen images, as visions of power and of beauty passed away, inscribed to Sidney's memory.

In the "Teares of the Muses," each Muse in turn lamented, in the six-lined "common verse," the decay of her just rule, decay of honour to the highest utterances of the mind, "whilst Ignorance the Muses doth possess." This poem Spenser dedicated to the Lady Strange, with whom he claimed kindred, and whom we shall meet again. She was Alice, youngest daughter of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe, then married to Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, who became Earl of Derby by the death of his father, in September, 1593. He died himself in the following April, leaving his widow Countess Dowager of Derby, and the mother of two girls. The Muses had less to complain of than the poet fancied, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth.* Shakespeare, in 1591, was on the point of beginning his career, and, for all the clouds about, the sun was rising on Apollo's Day. But the poem was written ten years or more before the date of publication, and before the break of day.

"Virgil's Gnat," done into octave rhyme, was said to have been long since "dedicated to the most noble and excellent lord, the Earl of Leicester, late deceased." It is a free version of a poem—"Culex"—that used to be ascribed to Virgil. A shepherd sleeping in fair pastures is threatened by danger from a serpent. A gnat rouses him with sting upon the eyelid. He wakes, brushes his hand over the sting, so kills the gnat; then sees his danger, and

* Polyhymnia flattered courageously when she addressed Elizabeth as "Most peerless Prince, most peerless Poetress." The "pleasant Willy," whose death Thalia lamented, in terms that would have suited Shakespeare two or three years later, could hardly have meant, as some suppose, John Lyly, who was not then dead.

destroys the serpent. The gnat comes to the shepherd in a dream. His plaint is heard, and the shepherd builds to the gnat a rustic monument on the spot where he was saved. Spenser indicates that in this one of his earlier poems, he refers to a time when he was the gnat made to suffer, Leicester was the shepherd whom he warned. In the gnat's recital of its companions among the shades, the sad suggestions follow swiftly on each other.

Prosopopoia; or Mother Hubberd's Tale,

Spenser dedicated to the Lady Compton and Monteagle, who was Anne, another of the daughters of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe. It is a pleasant satirical fable, in Chaucer's rhyming ten-syllabled lines, "long since composed in the raw concept of my youth," and written designedly in Chaucer's manner, showing how the Fox and the Ape, his neighbour and gossip, went disguised into the world to mend their fortunes. To begin, they would not be of any occupation, but the free men called beggars. But what warrant should they have for their free life? They would protect themselves by the name of soldiers—"That now is thought a civil begging sect." The Ape, as likest for manly semblance, was to act the poor soldier; the Fox to wait on him and help as occasion served. Spenser having cried shame on this common abuse of an honorable name, next made the Ape a shepherd, with the Fox for sheepdog. In this character

> "Not a lamb of all their flockes supply
> Had they to shew; but ever as they bred
> They slue them, and upon their fleshes fed."

The Fox and the Ape, having escaped after a great slaughter of the flock entrusted to their care, set up a new calling "much like to begging, but much better named." They got gown and cassock, and as poor clerks begged of a priest, who reproached them for not seeking some good estate in the Church. Through the counsel given by this priest when the Fox and the Ape asked for advice, Spenser satirised the too easy lives of an indolent, well-to-do clergy:—

> "By that he ended had his ghostly sermon,
> The Foxe was well induc'd to be a parson,
> And of the priest eftsoones gan to inquire
> How to a benefice he might aspire.

'Marie, there,' said the priest, 'is arte indeed:
Much good deep learning one thereout may read;
For that the ground-worke is, and ende of all,
How to obtaine a beneficiall.'"

They must dress well, wait on some religious nobleman, and affect a godly zeal; or, if the Fox looked to Court for promotion—

"Then must thou thee dispose another way:
For there thou needs must learne to laugh, to lie,
To crouche, to please, to be a beetle-stock
Of thy great master's will, to scorne, or mock;
So maist thou chance mock out a benefice,
Unless thou canst one conjure by device,
Or cast a figure for a bishoprick."

The courtiers also must be bribed. The Fox and Ape were thankful for good counsel, and presently Fox was a priest, with Ape for parish clerk. They behaved so ill in their new calling that they were obliged at last to escape from it, and, by counsel of a fat mule from the Court, they next tried life among the courtiers. At Court the Ape walked on tiptoe, as if he were some great Magnifico; and the Fox, as his man, supported him. Here followed Spenser's satire of Court vices and follies, with a picture in verse of the true courtly gentleman, for which in Spenser's mind, perhaps, his friend, Philip Sidney, sat. It is in this part of "Mother Hubberd's Tale" that we find Spenser's lines upon the pitiful state of the suitor.* They were possibly a late insertion in a poem written at Cambridge, and Burghley may be referred to in the line, "To have thy prince's grace and want her peers." From Court also Fox and Ape were obliged to fly; and next they came upon the Lion sleeping, stole his crown and skin, and assumed royalty. The Ape was king, the Fox his minister. A satire followed on tyrannical misgovernment. Jove saw it; and Mercury, sent from Jove to make inquiry into it, aroused the sleeping Lion, who reclaimed his own:—

"The Foxe, first author of that treacherie,
He did uncase, and then away let flie;
But th' Ape's long taile (which then he had) he quight
Cut off, and both ears paréd off their height;
Since which all Apes but halfe their eares have left,
And of their tailes are utterlie bereft."

* "E. W." ix. 210.

"Muiopotmos; or, the Tale of the Butterflie," Spenser dedicated to the Lady Carey, who was Elizabeth, another of the daughters of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe. This dainty original allegory in octave rhyme, an exquisite mock-heroic of the proud butterfly whom a sudden gust sweeps into the spider's web, is the best poem in the volume.

"The Ruins of Rome" and "The Visions," both from Bellay, his own "Visions of the World's Vanity," and "The Visions of Petrarch," are alike in form, and written sonnet-wise, the "Visions" of Bellay and "Visions" of Petrarch being chiefly a new version of Spenser's youthful contribution to "The Theatre for Worldlings."

These were the contents of the volume of Spenser's poetry published as "Complaints," in 1591, the year after the success of the first three books of "The Faerie Queene." Through all the "Complaints" there runs one delicate strain of the trustless state of man, who builds his bliss on hope of earthly things:—

> "Living, on God and on thyself rely,
> For when thou diest, all with thee shall die."

"Daphnaïda."

The "Marquesse of Northampton," to whom Spenser dedicated "Daphnaïda," was Dowager Marchioness. Her first husband, William Parr, brother to Henry VIII.'s sixth wife, died Marquis of Northampton twenty years before the time of the dedication. The Dowager Marchioness had, as usual, retained her title upon marriage into a family of lower rank. The Gorges family, into which she had married, was intellectual; and for Arthur Gorges, in whom Spenser had found a friend, "Daphnaïda" was written, as the poetical expression of a husband's sense of desolation in the loss of a good wife. The wife's death must have followed very close upon that of her father, whose heiress she was—Henry Howard, Viscount Bindon, who died about 1590. Chaucer had expressed,

through a poetical fancy, the same sense of bereavement in his "Book of the Duchess," on the death of John of Gaunt's wife, Blanche; and the poetical gloom of Sackville's Induction to the "Mirror for Magistrates" may also have suggested indirectly the sustained note of sorrow in "Daphnaïda." There is unity in the strict limiting of the expression of grief to that first mood of desolate despair. This piece was published separately by William Ponsonby, in 1591, but was not entered at Stationers' Hall.

"Colin Clout's Come Home Again."

In 1591 Spenser returned to Ireland, and the twenty-seventh of December, 1591, was the date of the dedication of his next poem, "Colin Clout's Come Home Again," in which, after his return to Ireland, he shaped into a pastoral poem his praise of Queen Elizabeth and recollections of his visit to her Court.

Spenser's dedication of the poem is to Sir Walter Raleigh, who had caused the visit, and who appears in the poem itself as the Shepherd of the Ocean. It is dated from the poet's house at Kilcolman, which is three miles north of Doneraile. There remains only one tower by a lake that has become a marsh, and the district has lost woods that once covered a large part of it. Spenser's "Mulla, daughter of old Mole so bright," is a fine trout river, the Awbeg, which runs within steep banks by the old abbey at Buttevant, then flows on by Doneraile and enters the Blackwater some distance below Mallow.

Of the poets of Elizabeth's time who are celebrated in this piece under feigned names, some are easily to be identified, some open to question. "Good Harpalus, now waxen aged in faithful service of fair Cynthia," may very possibly have been Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, part author of the first English tragedy, who grew to the queen's service in affairs of State, and in 1591 became Chancellor of the University of Oxford. Corydon may have been Abra-

ham Fraunce. Palin was probably George Peele. Amyntas was Thomas Watson, who had written a Latin poem of that name, and who died in 1592. Alabaster and Daniel are praised by their own names. Spenser's, here, is the earliest mention of William Alabaster, then a young man of twenty-five, who had written in Latin hexameters the beginning of an unpublished "Elisæis" in praise of the queen. Probably Alabaster's Latin tragedy of "Roxana" had been acted at Trinity College, Cambridge, though nothing of his was printed when Spenser spoke his praise. Ætion, some like to think, was Shakespeare—

> "And there, though last not least, is Ætion,
> A gentler shepherd may nowhere be found:
> Whose Muse, full of high thought's invention,
> Doth like himself heroically sound:"

—Shakespeare? But Shakespeare was only just beginning to take ground of his own among the poets, in the year 1592. Drayton has been suggested, and the heroic sound is found in the poetical name used by him—Rowland, the name of the chief hero of the camp of Charlemagne. Of the ladies of Elizabeth's Court whose worth is celebrated, we may say that "Urania, sister unto Astrophel," was, of course, Sidney's sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke; and we may find in Theana, Anne, Countess of Warwick; in Marian, Margaret, Countess of Cumberland; in Mansilia, the Marchioness of Northampton; in Stella, the Lady Rich; in "Phyllis, Charillis, and sweet Amaryllis," three of the six daughters of Sir John Spencer, of Althorpe, in Northamptonshire. Phyllis was Elizabeth, Lady Carey, herself a poetess; Charillis, Anne, thrice married, her last husband being Robert Sackville, Earl of Dorset; Amaryllis was the Alice to whom Spenser dedicated "The Teares of the Muses," married, as has been said, to Ferdinando Strange, who, in 1592 became Earl of Derby, and died of poison two years later. This was the

Countess of Derby for whom Milton wrote, in after years, his "Arcades."

Spenser's love-sonnets—"Amoretti"—fall into two parts, the second part beginning with the sixty-second sonnet; the suitor speaks in one, the accepted lover and the husband in the other. To some extent they follow the usual convention, but not a few of them have undoubted reference to his actual suit to an Elizabeth, whom he married on St. Barnabas' Day—the longest day—in the year 1594, when his age was about forty. There is no evidence that Spenser had been married before. Rosalind, in his poems, though associated with some actual fancy of his youth, was little more than a poetical convention. The twenty-third sonnet, in which Spenser speaks of his courtship as stopping work upon "The Faerie Queene"; the sixtieth, in which he indicates his age; the Easter Day sonnet (sixty-eighth); and the seventy-fourth, in which he celebrates the name Elizabeth as name of his queen, his mother, and his wife, strongly suggest that Spenser's love-sonnets were actually written by him before and after marriage. After marriage also, when he went on with the sixth book of "The Faerie Queene," he built into it (Bk. VI., canto x., st. 5—28) a little shrine for his wife, in witness to the fulness of his love.

Spenser's Sonnets.

Then comes the "Epithalamion"—the marriage-song made by the poet himself for his own bride, in which the sweet music that runs through all Spenser's verse, and makes it answerable to Milton's praise of divine philosophy as

"Epithalamion."

> "a perpetual feast of nectared sweets,
> Where no crude surfeit reigns,"

fills us with something like his own sense of fullest earthly joy. These pieces were first published in 1595.

Who was the wife for whom that most beautiful of

wedding-songs was written? The last and best suggestion is that offered by Dr. Grosart, who found a grant, made in 1606, by Sir Richard Boyle to Elizabeth Boyle, *alias* Seckerstone, widow, of her house at Kilcoran for half-a-crown a year. It is known that Spenser's widow married a Roger Seckerstone in 1603. It is not likely that there should have been two Elizabeth Seckerstones in the same district. If not, Spenser's wife was of the Boyle family—Elizabeth Boyle. Kilcoran is by the Bay of Youghal, with a strand three miles in extent; and this suits well, Dr. Grosart suggests, with the incident in the seventy-fifth sonnet, "One day I wrote her name upon the strand."

Towards the close of the year 1595 Spenser returned to London, with three more books of "The Faerie Queene" ready for issue. He came alone this time. Sir Walter Raleigh's vigorous, eventful life had taken a road that, for a while, parted him alike from Ireland and from Court. Probably Spenser was, at the beginning of his first visit, in 1590, Raleigh's guest in Durham House. That was a house—once the palace of the Bishops of Durham—which Henry VIII. had taken to himself, Mary had restored to the see, and Elizabeth had claimed again for the Crown. She leased it, in 1584, to Raleigh, who spent money on it and had it for town house until the end of the reign. Durham House stood between the Thames and the roadway of the Strand. The arches of the Adelphi afterwards were built over its site. But Raleigh was much occupied in 1591 with care about ships, and in 1591 he published anonymously a little quarto, entitled, "A Report of the Trvth of the fight about the Iles of Açores, this last sommer, betwixt *The Revenge*, one of her Maiesties Shippes, and an Armada of the King of Spaine." In the second volume of the edition of Hakluyt's "Voyages" which was published in three

Spenser again in London.

Sir Walter Raleigh.

"Truth of the Fight about the Iles of the Açores."

volumes in 1599-1600, this was reprinted, with the addition to its title that it was "penned by the honourable Sir Walter Raleigh, knight." If we set aside one or two contributions of praise in verse prefixed to the books of friends, this noble breath of life among the seamen of Elizabeth was the first piece of his writing Raleigh printed.

English seamen, after the scattering of the Spanish Armada, in 1588, lost no opportunity of crippling the naval power of Spain, and of intercepting the wealth of the two Indies, that was brought in great galleons from the east to Portugal and from the west to Spain, furnishing means of continued war for the restoration of the Pope's authority in England. When prizes were made of treasure-laden Spanish ships, there always was dispute over division of the plunder. That gave Raleigh trouble. He was, in these and all matters, the good friend of the sailors. There was no other man in whom they had like confidence. But arrangements were made difficult by the large claims of the queen for public uses, and the undertakers of adventure by sea against the Spanish treasure ships often lost heavily by expeditions that gained much wealth from the enemy. As the treasure ships from east and west met at the Azores, the sea near those islands was a happy hunting-ground for English sailors. In the autumn of 1590 the King of Spain had ordered the fleet from the Spanish West Indies to winter at Havana and come home next year, when the fleet under Lord Thomas Howard, on watch at the Azores, might have been obliged to go back home for victual. By that time, also, Spain would have prepared a fleet of war for their safe convoy. But the English fleet remained at its post. It was victualled from home. Sir Richard Grenville, a cousin of Raleigh's, was second in command. He was on board *The Revenge*, an old ship of five hundred tons.

Grenville, in 1585, had represented Raleigh in the expedition for the colonisation of Virginia, and his high-handed

ways had brought on him the strong resentment of Ralph Lane, on the part of the colonists. On his way home he showed his energy by taking a Spanish ship that attacked him. He grappled to it with a hastily-made raft, that went to pieces as soon as he and his party had climbed from it to board the enemy.

The Earl of Cumberland sent word, by a swift pinnace from the coast of Portugal, to Sir Thomas Howard, at the Azores, that a strong Armada was on its way to him—a fleet of fifty-three sail. Against this force Sir Thomas Howard could bring only sixteen vessels, six of them queen's ships, with much sickness amongst the men. Sir Thomas took on board his ships the men who were ashore, and then stood off to sea. Sir Richard Grenville, had he been in Sir Thomas's place, would have fought the Spaniards, fearless about odds. As it was, though he was accused of wilful disobedience to orders, and of mistaking the war fleet for the expected treasure ships, we may take Raleigh's word for it that he was delayed near Flores, one of the westerly isles of the Azores, in getting his men on board, and could not recover the wind. Refusing bluntly to cut his mainsail, cast about, and trust to sailing to escape, he determined, for the honour of England, to go forward boldly through the two squadrons of Spaniards. He could have escaped, probably, by flight; but, as Raleigh says, "out of the greatness of his mind he could not be persuaded."

Grenville then fought for fifteen hours in his ship of five hundred tons, carrying not two hundred men, of whom ninety were sick. *The Revenge* fought to the death for fifteen hours against fifteen great ships of Spain, the rest of the Spanish fleet looking on. During the first two hours of the fight Grenville was aided by Thomas Vavasour, in a queen's ship—*The Foresight*—which then succeeded in escaping. *The Revenge* fought on alone. Three Spanish ships were sunk, and fifteen hundred Spaniards were slain

or drowned. The hundred Englishmen on *The Revenge*, holding their own against the fire of fifteen great Spanish ships, repelled every attempt to board till the last barrel of gunpowder was spent and the last pike was broken. *The Revenge's* masts were gone, she had six feet of water in her hold, and her deck was level with the sea. Then Grenville gave orders to the master-gunner to sink the ship. The gunner himself was willing to do this, but the captain and the master carried against him their desire to save life by surrender, on condition of freedom for the crew, who should be sent to England, and reasonable ransom for the officers, without imprisonment or condemnation to the galleys. His comrades slipped away to a Spanish galleon, avoiding sight of Grenville, himself wounded to the death, but fierce against submission to the enemy. He swooned when he was taken out of *The Revenge*, "the shippe being maruellous unsauerie, filled with blood and bodies of deade and wounded men, like a slaughter-house." Grenville died three days afterwards.

Sir Walter Raleigh's account of this fight was published to maintain the reputation of his cousin against disparaging critics by plain statement of the truth. The manner of Sir Richard Grenville's death on board the Spanish vessel was not told by Raleigh, but by Jan Huygen van Linschoten, a Dutchman who was in the service of Spain and was on board one of the Spanish ships at the island of Terceira, or on shore at Terceira, seventy miles from Flores, at the time of the last fight of *The Revenge*. In his *Itinerario* of 1596, translated into English, in 1598, as his "Discours of Voyages into y^e^ East and West Indies Deuided into Foure Bookes," an account is given of this fight at the Azores. It is there said of Sir Richard Grenville that when among the Spanish captains "he would carouse three or four glasses of wine, and in a brauerie take the glasses between his teeth, and crush them in pieces and swallow them down." He

was dying, and he wished to die. When the end came, says Linschoten, "Hee spake these wordes in Spanish: 'Here die I, Richard Greenfield'" (a name often written for Grenville), "'with a ioyfull and quiet mind, for that I haue ended my life as a true soldier ought to do, that hath fought for his countrey, queene, religion, and honor, whereby my soule most ioyfull departeth out of this bodie, and shall alwaies leaue behinde it an euerlasting fame of a valiant and true soldier, that hath done his dutie as he was bound to do.'" Those last words of duty, which Linschoten heard on the spot, from narration of the Spaniards who stood by, had not come to the ears of Raleigh, or he would have included them in his "Report of the Truth of the fight."

This was the first English ship taken by the Spaniards. Soon after the Spaniards took it, *The Revenge* went down in a storm, with two hundred of them on board. There was lost to the enemy only one other English ship—Sir Richard Hawkins's *Dainty*—and that was after a three days' fight of seventy-five Englishmen against thirteen hundred Spaniards. Of the last fight of *The Revenge*, Francis Bacon wrote, in 1624, that it was "memorable even beyond credit, and to the height of some heroical fable. And though it were a defeat, yet it exceeded a victory; being like the act of Samson, that killed more men at his death than he had done in the time of all his life." The fame of this subject of Raleigh's first-printed piece is part of the living fame of days that produced Raleigh himself, Sidney, Spenser, and Shakespeare.

Raleigh's account of "the Fight about the Azores this last Summer"* appeared while Spenser was in London.

* Published, for sixpence, by Professor Edward Arber, in 1871, as one of his series of "English Reprints," fully edited, with biographical and bibliographical details, as "The Last Fight of *The Revenge* at Sea; under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Grenville, on the 10-11th of September, 1591. Described by Sir Walter Raleigh, November 1591; Gervase Markham, 1595; and Jan Huygen van Linschoten

Next year, soon after Spenser had returned to Ireland, Raleigh's engagement to Elizabeth Throgmorton brought on him the anger of the Queen. Her father, Sir Nicholas, had served the State under Henry VIII., and had been employed by Queen Elizabeth as an ambassador in France. He died, aged fifty-seven, in February, 1571, full twenty years before Raleigh's attachment to his daughter, who had become a maid of honour to the Queen. She was a faithful wife to Raleigh, who said to her, in the last days of his adversity, "I chose you and I loved you in my happiest times." They were the times clouded, in 1592, by anger of Elizabeth. She sent Raleigh to the Tower, and he was exiled from the Court during the next four years. It is usually assumed that Spenser had Raleigh in mind when he represented the wrath of Belphœbe against Timias for his regard to Amoret; and among the many references to the life of his own day chased on the surface of the poet's allegory, associations of Sir Walter Raleigh with Prince Arthur's squire may be rightly suggested.

Raleigh's Marriage and trouble at Court.

Raleigh's Imprisonment.

Raleigh was detained by the Queen, in 1592, from an expedition to which he had been a chief contributor, for the intercepting of the treasure brought to Spain by the carracks of Seville, and for attack upon the Spanish settlement in Panama. The attack on Panama was not made, but one of the richest of the Spanish carracks, the *Madre de Dios*, was taken by Sir John Borough in Raleigh's ship, *The Roebuck*, and Robert Cecil reported of it that, "there never was such spoil." Great difficulties arose over the division of the prize and the dealing with men who had already helped themselves. Raleigh's services were indispensable. There was no other man in whom the sailors had like trust. Whoever profited, he was himself a loser

in Dutch, 1596; English, 1598; and Latin, 1599." Tennyson has made this fight the subject of a noble ballad.

by the venture. He was not immediately set free, but went to Devonshire in charge of a keeper. By the end of the year, however, he was his own master again, though not admitted to the Court. He went to Sherborne Castle, which had belonged to the Bishops of Sherborne, and of which he had obtained possession earlier in the year. At Sherborne he planted the gardens, added to the buildings, and spent the next two or three years in peace there with his wife, Elizabeth. His arms remain over the central doorway, with the date, 1594. Some local romancer long since established the tradition that a stone seat in the park is that upon which Raleigh sat to smoke tobacco, and that a lower stone beside it was meant as a rest for the pipe-bowl.

Raleigh at Sherborne.

The genius of many inventors of travellers' tales, from 1530 downward, had established faith in a bold legend of a country in the heart of Guiana, where there was so much gold that its chief covered his body with glutinous matter and rolled in gold dust, so that he became *El Dorado*, or the Gilded One. Others said that all the people of the land were thus gilded, and that the tiles of the houses in their great city of Manoa had been seen from a distance, shining with gold. Thus, the whole land came to be called El Dorado. The Spaniards had been, with much cruelty and many disasters to themselves, on search for the fabled treasure. The legend stirred English imagination. If there was such a land, it must be found by England, not by Spain, and Raleigh boldly planned a boat voyage up the Orinoco, led by himself, as the Queen's Commission said, "to do Us service in offending the King of Spain and his subjects in his dominions to your uttermost power." Raleigh started in 1595, and produced in the next year, 1596, a vivid account of his expedition, in 112 quarto pages with eight preliminary leaves, published by Robert Robinson, as "The Discoverie of the Empyre of

The Voyage to Guiana.

Guiana, with a Relation of the Citie of Manoa (which the Spanyards call El Dorado) and of the Provinces of Emeria, Arromaia, Amapaia, etc. Performed in the year 1595." The tale of peril in a maze of great waters rushing through primeval forests, of resource and perseverance, of strict honour in all dealings with the natives, who gave trust and goodwill to the little body of Englishmen and who told sad tales of the cruelty of rough Spanish adventurers, abounds in evidence of Raleigh's noble spirit. He looked for gold, and brought back good samples of ore, with descriptions of land never before explored, though about El Dorado still no more than legends. His desire was to establish here also, upon fresh ground loaded with natural wealth, an English colony. He returned in the autumn of 1595. The boats used for his exploration up the Orinoco found the ships at Trinidad, where they had left them, and the ships as they came home were victualled by forced contributions from Spanish settlements.

As soon as he returned, Raleigh fitted out another expedition, under one of his captains, Keymis, who came back in five months. Keymis found the Spaniards gathered in force to stay his passage towards the mines from which Raleigh had brought his pieces of gold ore.

Raleigh himself was then preparing to take part in another adventure against Spain—the expedition to Cadiz.

Raleigh at Cadiz.

The fleet was of four squadrons, led severally by the Earl of Essex, who was in special command of the soldiers; Howard of Effingham, Lord Admiral, who was in special command of the sailors; Sir Walter Raleigh, and Lord Thomas Howard. It sailed on the first of June, 1596, Essex and the Lord Admiral being joined in chief command of the whole enterprise. On the twentieth of June they anchored westward of Cadiz harbour. Essex and the Lord Admiral resolved to land troops and carry the town by assault, before engaging with the ships in

the bay, which were protected by the forts. They had begun the landing when Raleigh intervened with better counsel. In deference to his experience the soldiers were re-shipped. Essex threw off Court jealousies, caught Raleigh's enthusiasm for the attack upon the great galleons in harbour, supported Raleigh faithfully, and paid afterwards due honour to his gallantry. Raleigh led the attack at peep of day, and ran his little ship, *The Warspright*, straight against the greatest of the galleons in the Spanish navy—the *Saint Philip*—anchored with the *Saint Andrew* under the fort of Puntal. Those great ships, the *Philip* and the *Andrew*, had both been engaged at the Azores against Sir Richard Grenville. *The Revenge* had been boarded from each of them in turn. Raleigh was resolved, he said, "to be revenged for *The Revenge*, or to second her with mine own life." Raleigh, under orders not to board until the fly-boats came, fought the two great galleons for three hours. Then, impatient that no fly-boats were in sight, he went in a skiff to meet Essex and tell him that he must board, orders or no orders. Essex first counselled caution, then his quick spirit caught Raleigh's enthusiasm, and he said, "I will second you, upon my honour." Raleigh, on returning to his post, found that two other English ships had got in his way. He forced *The Warspright* between them, put himself again to the front, and pressed so hard upon the *Philip* that the great ship was blown up by the Spaniards to save it from capture. But Raleigh captured the *Saint Andrew*, and also another ship, the *Saint Matthew*, before they could be blown up, and these two were the only Spanish ships carried to England. Of the rest there was a terrible destruction in the harbour. Raleigh, although seriously wounded, caused himself to be borne in a litter, that he might take part also in the attack upon the town, where he was witness to the gallantry of Essex, about whom he wrote to Cecil, that "the Earl hath behaved himself both

valiantly and advisedly in the highest degree, without pride, without cruelties, and hath gotten great favour and much love of all." Of the devastation in the harbour, Raleigh wrote, "ourselves spared the lives of all after the victory; but the Flemings, who did little or nothing in the fight, used merciless slaughter till they were, by myself, and afterwards by my Lord Admiral, beaten off." The fortifications of Cadiz were razed. Spain lost, to eight English ships engaged in the attack, thirteen men-of-war and seventeen galleys, besides the whole of the great fleet for the Indies, which was burnt at night by order of the Spanish general, that the English might not have it, and that they might not get the ransom of two million ducats offered for it by the merchants.

By the fight in Cadiz Harbour, in June, 1596, Spain lost her power, and England won full recognition for her sailors of the spirit that has made them masters of the sea.

CHAPTER X.

The Faerie Queene: 1596.

THERE was entered, at Stationers' Hall, on the twentieth of January, 1596, to Master Ponsonby, "for his copie vnder the handes of the Wardens, The seconde parte of the ffaery Qvene containing the. 4. 5. and. 6. bookes." These were issued separately, and also together, with a new edition of the first three Books, which contained a change in the close of the third book, by omission of the last five stanzas, that, in 1590, had left Scudamour and Amoret united and entirely happy in their love. In place of these Spenser wrote the three stanzas that now close the book and defer the meeting of the lovers. They open the way to new adventures told in the new part, where Amoret, before she is found by Scudamour, is made an important factor in the working out of the continued allegory.

The Fourth Book

is the Book of Friendship, or the Legend of Cambel and Triamond, and continues the theme of Love by dwelling on it in more forms than that of love between man and woman.

Scudamour had won Amoret from twenty knights, and brought away with her the shield of love thus earned. He wedded her, but Busirane had crossed with his masque of love the bridal feast, and "by way of sport as oft in masks is known" had carried away the lady. For seven months she had been his captive, but now she rode free, with Britomart for her companion. They came one evening to a castle in which none might rest who did not bring with him a lady love. A

young knight claimed Amoret, but was overthrown by Britomart, who then, having claimed entrance by right of Amoret, gave entrance to the fallen knight by disclosing her sex and offering herself—Chastity—as his companion. Next day, as they rode on, Britomart and Amoret in outward resemblance of a knight with a fair lady by his side, they encountered two knights, Blandamour and Paridel. These rode with two ladies seeming fair, but hiding under mask of beauty the foul features of Duessa and of Atè, mother of debate. Here Spenser gives a dozen stanzas to the allegorical description of Atè and her home. Paridel, knowing again the arms and scutcheon of Britomart, who had overthrown him once, refused to tilt against her. Blandamour gave Duessa to his friend and ran a course for Amoret, but was unhorsed by the spear of Britomart.

Then Paridel and Blandamour, types of the friendship that has not its root in honour of true worth, rode on together till they met two other knights, one of whom Blandamour recognised by the wings on his shield as Scudamour, whom he ever hated. Bruised by his recent fall, he urged Paridel to tilt for him. Paridel tilted and was overthrown. Blandamour reviled, but Atè and Duessa stung Sir Scudamour with tidings that his Amoret had given herself to another knight, with whom she rode; and old Glaucè, the seeming knight who rode with Scudamour, sought in vain to clear Britomart and stay his fury. So the first canto ends, with Atè, Discord, the antagonist to Friendship, raising strife of friend against friend. It was the place of Atè as the companion of Untruth and the antagonist of Friendship that, in the opening of the Book of Friendship, entitled her to twelve stanzas of allegorical description.

The light friends, Blandamour and Paridel, marked the wise words of Glaucè, and rode on together. Presently they met a knight who rode in dalliance with a fair lady. It was Sir Ferraugh, with the snowy Florimell, whom he had snatched from Braggadochio. Blandamour overthrew Sir Ferraugh, and took possession of the seeming Florimell. Paridel envied his good fortune, and the light friends lightly turned to foes. They fought together—their ladies urging them to fight for honour of their loves. While they still fought, there came the Squire of Dames, who stayed their strife by telling them that if indeed they had found Florimell herself, who was thought to be dead, they should hold together and go to a solemn feast and public tourneying which Sir Satyrane had caused to be proclaimed. Thither knights were to ride with their ladies, and the prize decreed to the fairest lady was the girdle of Florimell that Satyrane had found. Since they had Florimell herself the prize was theirs—

"So, well accorded, forth they rode together
In friendly sort that lasted but a while;
And of all old dislikes they made faire weather;
Yet all was forg'd and spred with golden foyle
That under it hidde hate and hollow guyle.
Ne certes can that friendship long endure,
That doth ill cause or evill end enure;
For virtue is the band that bindeth harts most sure."

The false friends then met, on their way, the true friends, Cambell and Triamond, with the ladies of their love—

"Couragious Cambell, and stout Triamond,
With Canacee and Cambine linckt in lovely bond."

Here Spenser used characters from Chaucer's unfinished Squire's tale, the same tale to which Milton referred when he bade the spirit of meditation

"Call up him that left half told
The story of Cambuscan bold,
Of Camball and of Algarsife,
And who had Canacé to wife,
That owned the virtuous ring and glass,
And of the wondrous horse of brass
On which the Tartar king did ride."

Spenser took the same story as his foundation of an allegory of Friendship, not to finish it as he thought Chaucer might have finished it—to do that would not have suited his design—and not because he had need of it in any other way than as giving him an opportunity of paying to his master, Chaucer, the same homage in "The Faerie Queene" that he had paid already in his "Shepheardes Calender." He built a little shrine for Chaucer in this book, as in the sixth Book he built one for his own wife.

Thus "the sage and serious Spenser," whom Milton dared be known to think a better teacher than Scotus or Aquinas, expressed his reverence for the true poet in whom he found a wisdom riper and, with all its ease and humour of expression, not less earnest than his own:—

"Whylome, as antique stories tellen us,
Those two were foes the fellonest on ground,
And battell made the dreddest daungerous
That ever shrilling trumpet did resound;

Though now their acts be nowheer to be found,
As that renownéd Poet them compyled
With warlike numbers and heroicke sound,
Dan Chaucer, well of English undefyled.
On Fames eternall beadroll worthie to be fyled.

"But wicked Time that all good thoughts doth wast
And workes of noblest wits to nought outweare,
That famous moniment hath quite defaste,
And robd the world of threasure endlesse deare,
The which mote have enrichéd all us heare.
O cursed Eld! the cankerworme of writs,
How may these rimes, so rude as doth appeare,
Hope to endure, sith workes of heavenly wits
Are quite devourd, and brought to nought by little bits.

"Then pardon, O most sacred happie spirit!
That I thy labours lost may thus revive,
And steale from thee the meede of thy due merit,
That none durst ever whilest thou wast alive,
And being dead in vaine yet many strive:
Ne dare I like; but through infusion sweete
Of thine owne spirit which doth in me survive,
I follow here the footing of thy feete,
That with thy meaning so I may the rather meete.

"Cambelloe's sister was fayre Canacee,
That was the learnedst Ladie in her dayes,
Well seen in everie science that mote bee,
And every secret worke of natures wayes;
In wittie riddles, and in wise soothsayes;
In power of herbes, and tunes of beasts and burds;
And, that augmented all her other prayse,
She modest was in all her deedes and words,
And wondrous chaste of life, yet loved of Knights and Lords."

Cambello decreed that of all his sister's suitors none should win her but the knight who could overthrow her brother in combat. His confidence was not in his courage only, but also in a magic ring with power to staunch the bleeding of all perilous wounds. The three stoutest knights among the suitors were to enter the lists with Cambello. But the suitors knew the virtue of the ring, and flinched. Then comes

the allegory of three children of love (Agapè), first lover, double lover, triple lover, and all three as one.

Priamond, Diamond, Triamond, were sons of Agapè born at one birth. Their bold deeds brought their lives into perils that troubled their mother. She went, therefore, to the three sisters, the Fates, to see how long or short would be her children's threads of life. Seeing that they were short, and might not be drawn longer or more strongly twined, she asked that when one died his life might pass into the next—

> "And when the next shall likewise ended bee,
> That both their lives may likewise be annext
> Unto the third, that his may so be trebly wext."

This was granted, for it is not against nature that the sons of love should so live, one in another.

The next canto, the third, describes the tournament. Priamond fell before Cambell, and lived anew in Diamond. Diamond fell, and the spirits of the three brothers then lived on in Triamond. As Triamond and Cambell were in fiercest fight, they were stayed by the arising of a troublous noise that gathered round one driving to the lists in a rich antique chariot, drawn by two grim lions. They had been made to forget their former cruel mood, and obeyed the guidance of a lady passing fair, taught by the fay, her mother, magic lore, whereby she knew that her brother, Cambell, was in danger. She carried in one hand a rod of peace, on which there were two serpents entwined and crowned with olive. In the other hand she held a cup, filled with Nepenthe to the brim.

> "Nepenthe is a drinck of soverayne grace,
> Devizéd by the Gods, for to asswage
> Harts grief, and bitter gall away to chace,
> Which stirs up anguish and contentious rage:
> Instead thereof sweet peace and quiet age
> It doth establish in the troubled mynd.
> Few men, but such as sober are and sage,
> Are by the Gods to drinck thereof assynd;
> But such as drinck, eternall happinesse do fynd."

This was Cambina, sister to the sons of Agapè. Cambina softly smote the rail. It opened at the touch of her wand. She entered the lists, descended from her chariot, greeted first her brother, Triamond, then looked with hidden love to Cambell. When they both disregarded her and turned again to fight, she touched them also with her magic

wand. At her touch the swords fell from their hands, and while their minds were doubtfully distraught, she offered them her golden cup, and, glad for thirst, each drank a hearty draught of the Nepenthe. Then followed kisses and embraces in the place of strokes. The people shouted. Canace descended from her lofty chair and greeted lovingly the lady who had turned strife into peace. Cambina then took Canace into her chariot. Triamond had Canace to wife, and Cambell took Cambina to his fere,

> "So all alike did love, and lovéd were,
> That since their dayes such lovers were not found elsewhere."

The charm that changes strife to peace, and in noble natures out of feud shapes friendship, is thus contrasted with the changes of goodwill to discord wherever Atè rides beside light-minded friends. But there is little more of Cambell and Triamond, who give their names to this Book of "The Faerie Queene."

The fourth canto tells how Cambell and Triamond met Blandamour and Paridel. Blandamour insulted them, but fair Cambina persuaded them to gentleness, and they all rode together towards

> "that great tourney which was blazed abroad
> For that rich girdle of fair Florimell,
> The prize of her which did in beauty most excel."

On the way they met Braggadochio, who rode with them. He recognised the snowy Florimell who had been snatched from him, claimed her, but avoided battle for her by excuses that made his boastfulness the jest of his companions as all proceeded to the place of tournament. There Braggadochio rode alone, to draw the more attention to himself—

> "The rest themselves in troops did else dispose,
> Like as it seeméd best to every one;
> The knights in couples marched with ladies linked attone."

The girdle of Florimell was then drawn from an ark of gold. The tournament began—in form not unlike the boys' game of prisoner's base—of which on the first day Sir Satyrane was judged to bear the bell. On the second day Cambel and Triamond were judged the best, but each preferred his friend's praise to his own. On the third day there rode into the lists a stranger knight, with oak leaves and moss on his armour, who was called the Salvage Knight. This was Artegall, the Knight

of Justice, by whom the victors of the days before were all unhorsed, but he was overcome by Britomart, the purity of love :—

> "So did the warlike Britomart restore
> The prize to knights of Maidenhead that day,
> Which else was like to have been lost, and bore
> The praise of prowess from them all away."

In the fifth canto is told how the ladies strove for the girdle of Florimell. It was the girdle of chaste love and true wifehood, that would only stay about the middle of a woman pure and true.

The fairest lady was to be the prize of Britomart, and the snowy Florimell was judged the fairest, but the girdle would not stay upon her. It would stay on Amoret, but it was adjudged to the false semblance of Florimell. Britomart would not exchange Amoret for this fair dame. Atè stirred strife for her, and it was at last resolved that he should have her to whom she would go by her own will. She went to Braggadochio, and he departed with her.

Britomart, when the strife began, had left the place with Amoret. Scudamour, meanwhile, his soul poisoned with hate for the companion of Amoret, and not to be appeased "for aught that Glaucè could or do or say," sought Amoret, and had a sad night's lodging in the home of Care. Giant Care, with his six servants, beat on hammers under a steep hill-side, by a muddy brook where only a few sallows grew. Sir Scudamour, "oft changing sides, and oft new place electing," had no sleep in the house of Care, or, if some sleep came, it brought dreams of disloyalty. The master smith then nipped him under his side with red-hot tongs. He started up to be avenged, and saw no enemy. The smart remained, though he himself did flee.

In the next canto—the sixth—Scudamour met with Artegall, the Salvage Knight. They both were seeking the unknown knight with the ebon spear, Britomart; for Artegall resented his overthrow in the tournament, and Scudamour believed the stranger had won from him the love of Amoret. Riding together, they met Britomart. Scudamour first attacked her, and was overthrown. Then Artegall fought furiously, till one wicked stroke chanced on her helmet, cut away her visor, and disclosed what was unseen before. He was made powerless at sight of the angel face of Britomart.

Scudamour, recovering from his swoon, was caused by Glaucè now to know his error, since Amoret's companion was a woman. The reconciled knights raised their bevers, and then Britomart saw the face of

Artegall, which had been shown to her in Merlin's mirror, and heard Scudamour pronounce his name.

But where was Amoret? When they were resting in a desert, weary of the way, while Britomart slept, Amoret had strayed from her side, and had not yet been found. Britomart's greater quest was ended. Love had sought to be joined to Justice. Artegall was found. But Artegall had his own assigned adventure to accomplish, and must part from his betrothed. She was unwilling, but by strong persuasion he won her assent. In three months he would return.

In the next canto we learn how Amoret—the charm of womanhood—having strayed from the near companionship of Britomart—the spirit of chastity—was snatched away by a wild man, foul to look upon—another type of lust—and carried to his den. There she heard, when she awoke from her swoon, the plaint of another prisoner, the sad Æmilia. Æmilia had stolen from her home to talk with a lover to whose suit her father had refused assent. At the place of assignation each lover had been seized and carried off by a monster. Amoret heard only of Æmilia's misfortunes. We hear afterwards of her squire's. When the hellish carle who had imprisoned her entered the cave, by rolling the stone away from its entrance, Amoret fled; he followed till they came where Timias had been left while Belphœbe and her nymphs were hunting. Prince Arthur's squire made bold attack upon the monster for rescue of Amoret. While they fought, Belphœbe came. She represents the other half of womanhood, the purity; Amoret is its grace and charm; Florimell is the union of both in perfect womanhood. The monster fled before Belphœbe, was pursued by her, and slain at his own door.

The sad Æmilia then came forth, and the loathsome hag who was mewed up with her. Belphœbe brought them to the place where she had left the gentle squire with Amoret. She found him wiping away tears from her eyes and kissing them between, and handling tenderly the hurts received from the lewd forster, among which was one wound. Belphœbe, in wrath, held her hand from piercing them both with the arrow that had killed the carle—

> "But drawing nigh ere he her well beheld,
> 'Is this thy faith?' she said,—and said no more,
> But turned her face, and fled away for ever more."

Timias followed to entreat grace from her, but

> "Her mortall arrows she at him did threat,
> And forst him backe with fowle dishonour to retreat."

In this picture of the spirit of honour, open to misapprehension, it is usual to see Raleigh between Elizabeth Tudor and Elizabeth Throgmorton.

In the eighth canto—the place of intervention of the Grace of God—we are told first how by the aid of a dove the Squire was restored to the grace of Belphœbe, and Arthur came to the relief of Æmilia and Amoret. For he chanced to come where Æmilia and Amoret sat sad and sorrowful.

> "Whom when the Prince beheld, he gan to rew
> The evill case in which those Ladies lay;
> But most was movéd at the piteous vew,
> Of Amoret, so neare unto decay,
> That her great daunger did him much dismay.
> Eftsoones that pretious liquor forth he drew,
> Which he in store about him kept alway.
> And with few drops thereof did softly dew,
> Her wounds, that unto strength restor'd her soone anew."

That precious liquor is from the pure river of the water of life, proceeding out of the throne of God and of the Lamb, clear as crystal, given to men by the grace of God. Next follows a picture of Prince Arthur stooping to the weak women—"no service loathsome to a gentle kind"—lifting them to sit on his own horse, and walking as guide and guardian by their side.

With Arthur now for their protector, the ladies found their lodging in the home of Slander. Riding forth again they met a Squire galloping in flight with a dwarf before him, and a giant on a dromedary following him in hot chase, "of stature huge, and horrible of hue." Prince Arthur saved the Squire, by slaying the giant, Corflambo, again a type of unregulated love. The Squire, young Placidas, told how Amyas, his friend, had been carried off by that giant whom he found at the place where he had appointed to meet his Æmilia. Amyas had become thrall to the giant's daughter, whose love he refused; and Placidas, the image of Amyas, had used the close likeness between them to enable him to save his friend. He had been carrying off the dwarf, his gaoler, when the dwarf's cries brought the giant after them. Æmilia recognised her lover's friend, and learned that Amyas still lived and still was faithful to his love. In Amyas and Placidas Spenser is returning to the type of perfect friendship, after two or three cantos spent chiefly in continuing the subject of the third book; wherewith

the fourth is one in subject, the two books representing love in all its forms, of which friendship is one.

Thus, therefore, the ninth canto now opens :—

> "Hard is the doubt, and difficult to deeme,
> When all three kinds of love together meet
> And doe dispart the hart with powre extreme,
> Whether shall weigh the balance downe ; to weet,
> The deare affection unto kindred sweet,
> Or raging fire of love to womankind,
> Or zeale of friends combynd with vertues meet :
> But of them all the band of vertuous mind,
> Me seemes, the gentle hart should most assuréd bind."

In this canto we are told how the Squire of Low Degree was released and married to Æmilia. Prince Arthur then rode on with Amoret.

> "Fear of her safety did her not constrain,
> For well she wist, now in a mighty hand
> Her person, late in peril, did remain."

Yet she had fear of shame ; a causeless fear, "she was safe as in a Sanctuary." They came where six knights seemed to be skirmishing. Four of them,

> "To wit stern Druon, and lewd Claribel,
> Lovelavish Blandamour and lustful Paridel,"

were stirred by Atè and Duessa to strife about the snowy Florimell, whom Braggadochio had carried off, but when Scudamour and Britomart had come in sight the four knights had fallen upon them. Prince Arthur compelled peace and brought them into new accord.

Then, in the tenth canto, Scudamour tells through what adventures in the great temple of Love he passed to the winning of his Amoret. This allegory of the House of Venus fills the whole canto, and corresponds to that of the House of Holiness in the tenth canto of the first book; and that of the House of Temperance in the ninth canto of the second book.

In the eleventh canto of the fourth book we turn again to Marinell under the prolific sea, hear how, healed of his wound, he remained with the nymph his mother, and witnessed, at a solemn feast among the sea-gods, the spousals of the Thames and Medway, surrounded by the company of English rivers. This fancy, as we learn from Gabriel

Harvey's letter of 1580, had been ingeniously worked out by Spenser in his younger days, and he now thought it worth re-writing and incorporating in "The Faerie Queene." The fancy of the wedding of the rivers preludes the twelfth and last canto of the fourth book, in which marriage is typified by the love of Marinell and Florimell.

Among the guests was fair Cymodocé, the mother of unlucky Marinell, who came with her to learn the manner of the gods at banquet.

Marinell, wandering outside, heard Florimell within in plaint of love for him; then his heart yearned towards her. When Marinell's mother knew her son's desire, she felt

> "It was no time to scan the prophecy
> Whether old Proteus true or false had said,
> That his decay should happen by a maid."

But as Proteus held Florimell in his prison, the nymph, Cymodocé, pleaded for her son to Neptune himself, and obtained his command to Proteus to set Florimell free. Marinell, when his mother brought Florimell to him, was healed by the sight of

> "that angel's face
> Adorned with all divine perfection."

So ends the fourth book, with the ceremony yet to come of the marriage between Marinell and Florimell.

The Fifth Book

—of Justice—follows Artegall in the pursuit of his adventure,

> "That was to succour a distresséd Dame
> Whom a strong tyrant did unjustly thrall,
> And from the heritage, which she did clame,
> Did with strong hand withhold; Grantorto was his name.
>
> "Wherefore the Lady, which Irena hight,
> Did to the Faery Queene her way addresse,
> To whom complayning her afflicted plight,
> She her besought of gratious redresse.
> That soveraine Queene, that mightie Emperesse,

Whose glorie is to aide all suppliants pore,
And of weake princes to be Patronesse,
Chose Artegall to right her to restore ;
For that to her he seem'd best skild in righteous lore."

Artegall was bred in his infancy by the daughter of Jove and Themis, Astræa, Goddess of Justice, last of the celestials to quit earth during the iron age. She taught him to weigh right and wrong in equal balance with true recompense. She trained him till he reached the ripeness of man's years. She gave him the sword, Chrysaor, of perfect metal tempered with adamant, that nothing could resist. And when Astræa, parting from the sinful world, returned to heaven, whence she derived her race, she left her groom, an iron man, to follow Artegall.

" His name was Talus, made of yron mould,
Immoveable, resistlesse, without end ;
Who in his hand an yron flale did hould,
With which he thresht out falshood, and did truth unfould."

Grantorto, who keeps Irena from her heritage, is Wrong—the word means great wrong—which it is the work of Justice to overcome, and which keeps Peace—εἰρήνη—from her own. Any glance there may be at Ireland in Irena, or at Arthur Lord Grey of Wilton in Artegall, plays on the surface of the allegory. Throughout "The Faerie Queene," and especially in the first and fifth books, Spenser makes his poem mirror incidents and persons of his time ; but his care is to represent in his allegory the calm depths of essential truth, with the life of his own world reflected from their surface.

Talus, the iron man, who is Artegall's companion, takes in this book a place answering to that of Una in the Legend of the Red Cross Knight, or the Black Palmer in the Legend of Sir Guyon. He represents the abstract principle of Justice—swift to overtake offenders, strong to punish, untouched by passion or pity, irresistible. Talus is said in Plato's "Minos," which is a dialogue of law and justice, to have been a man who, when Minos ruled in Crete, went three times a year through the villages, showing to the people their laws written upon brazen tablets, whence he was called Talus, meaning brazen. But Apollonius Rhodius, in the "Argonautics," says that he was actually made of brass, body and limbs, and invulnerable ; that he traversed the island three times a day on his brazen feet ; and that he was made for Minos by Vulcan.

Sir Artegall, with Talus by his side, finds a squire mourning by a

headless lady. A knight—Sir Sanglier—who bore on his shield a broken sword within a bloody field, had discarded his own lady to carry off the squire's, and had struck off the head of his own lady when she cried to him not to leave her. Though it was long since Sir Sanglier had ridden away, Talus, being sent after him, soon fetched him back, and the lady with him. Brought before Artegall, Sir Sanglier defied his accuser, and declared the lady with him to be his. Then Artegall decided between them, and the Book of Justice opens with a romance version of the judgment of Solomon, as told in the third chapter of the first Book of Kings.

In the second canto Artegall meets Dony, Florimell's dwarf (who had before appeared in the fifth canto of the Third Book), and is told of the finding of Florimell, to whose spousals, which are to be held within three days at the Castle of the Strand, the dwarf is hastening. But, close by, the way is barred by a cruel Saracen, who keeps a bridge over which none may pass without paying him passage money. This Saracen is

> "Expert in battle and in deeds of arms,
> And more emboldened by the wicked charms
> With which his daughter doth him still support."

The daughter is the Lady Munera—gifts—and the form of injustice here to be battled with is that which keeps the narrow bridge of licensing, or corrupt favour, and bars the way to those who cannot show gold in assurance of their rights. The giant's name is Pollentè—prevailing—and the bridge he keeps has many trapfalls set in it. He spoils those whom he ruins, for enrichment of his daughter Munera. Artegall overcame the Saracen, entered his castle, dragged Munera from her hiding-place under a heap of gold, and had no pity on her beauty.

Artegall's next encounter was with a giant about whom gathered a great rout of people, tempted by his promises; and now we have Spenser's dealing with the communism of his time.

> "There they beheld a mighty Gyant stand
> Upon a rocke, and holding forth on hie
> An huge great paire of ballaunce in his hand,
> With which he boasted, in his surquedrie,
> That all the world he would weigh equallie,
> If ought he had the same to counterpoys;
> For want whereof he weighéd vanity,
> And fild his ballaunce full of idle toys;
> Yet was admiréd much of fooles, women, and boys."

He offered to reduce all things to an equality, wherefore the vulgar flocked about him as the flies about a honey crock. Artegall reasoned with him of the Divine ordering of the world: "All change is perilous and all-chance unsound." The Giant replied: "Seest not how badly all things present be?—

> "Were it not good that wrong were then surceast,
> And from the most that some were given to the least?
>
> "Therefore I will throw downe these mountaines hie,
> And make them levell with the lowly plaine;
> These towring rocks, which reach unto the skie,
> I will thrust downe into the deepest maine,
> And, as they were, them equalize againe.
> Tyrants, that make men subject to their law,
> I will suppresse, that they no more may raine;
> And Lordlings curbe that commons over-aw,
> And all the wealth of rich men to the poore will draw."

Artegall replied that all was in God's power and ordained by Him, "for all we have is His: what He lists do, He may." Man cannot weigh His works anew until he know their cause and their courses—

> "For take thy ballaunce, if thou be so wise,
> And weigh the winde that under heaven doth blow;
> Or weigh the light that in the East doth rise;
> Or weigh the thought that from man's mind doth flow.
> But if the weight of these thou canst not show,
> Weigh but one word which from thy lips doth fall:
> For how canst thou those greater secrets know,
> That doest not know the least thing of them all?
> Ill he can rule the great that cannot reach the small."

The angry Giant said he could weigh the least word put into his balance. True words were put into the balance to be weighed against false, but true and false words flew away. Words are light, said the Giant, but I can weigh right against wrong. Try, then, said Artegall. The Giant put the right into one scale, and no heaping of wrong on the other side would make the balance turn. It was so when he weighed true and false. There was further argument, till Talus, going to the giant—

> "Shoulderéd him from off the higher ground,
> And down the rock him throwing, in the sea him drowned."

Then Talus, with his iron flail, laid about him among the people, and when the "rascal rout" was scattered, he returned to follow Artegall.

The third canto tells of the feast at the spousals of Florimell. Marinell was taken prisoner in the tilting, when Artegall entered the tilt-yard with Braggadochio and Florimell (whom he had met with in the fifth canto of the Fourth Book). Artegall for better disguise changed shields with Braggadochio, plunged into the game and rescued Marinell. Then he restored his shield to Braggadochio. When Florimell came into the hall to give each knight his guerdon, Braggadochio claimed what Sir Artegall abstained from claiming. Braggadochio brought forward his snowy Florimell whom Trompart had in keeping there beside. He removed her veil and showed her to the people, who said—

> "That surely Florimell it was,
> Or if it were not Florimell so tride,
> That Florimell her selfe she then did pas.
> So feeble skill of perfect things the vulgar has."

But Artegall disclosed himself, brought Braggadochio to shame, and taking the true beauty of womanhood, Florimell,—

> "Then did he set her by that snowy one,
> Like the true saint beside the image set,
> Of both their beauties to make paragone
> And triall, whether should the honour get.
> Streight-way, so soone as both together met,
> Th' enchaunted Damzell vanisht into nought:
> Her snowy substance melted as with heat,
> Ne of that goodly hew remaynéd ought,
> But th' emptie girdle which about her wayst was wrought."

Sir Guyon also came out of the press and claimed his horse that Braggadochio had stolen, the horse proving knowledge of his master. So justice was done here also between the false and true. Talus executed sentence of public disgrace on Braggadochio, and openly scourged Trompart out of court.

In the fourth canto Artegall, having left Marinell and Florimell happily wedded, proceeds on his adventure, and arbitrates between two brethren who are in dispute. They are Amidas and Bracidas, sons of Milesio, who left to each an island. The sea wasted the island of Bracidas and heaped land upon that of Amidas. Amidas loved Lucy with little dower; Bracidas the wealthy Philtera. But Philtera

transferred herself to the richer brother. The richer brother took her and put Lucy aside, who threw herself into the sea. Tossed in the sea, she was saved by clinging to a sea-beaten chest and thrown with it upon the little isle of Bracidas, who found and saved her. Lucy and the chest, which contained great treasure, became his. Amidas claimed the treasure, as having belonged to Philtera. Artegall decreed that the chest of treasure thrown upon one shore was, like the added land thrown on the other, gift of the sea.

Then, as he journeyed on, Artegall saw a rout of people, who proved to be a troop of women, gathered about a pinioned knight whom they were about to hang. This incident leads to Spenser's utterance of his ideas as to the just relation between man and woman. Talus was sent to disperse the women, and he did that with "few sowces of his iron flail." The knight thus rescued was brought to Artegall, and proved to be Sir Terpin, whom he knew. Sir Terpin told that he had endeavoured to subdue an Amazon, who shamed the knights of Maidenhead. For she strips of their arms all knights whom she subdues by force or guile, clothes them in women's weeds, and forces them "to spin, to card, to sew, to wash, to wring." To keep their spirits low, she feeds them upon bread and water; but if still their spirits rise, in disdain of her rule, she hangs them out of hand upon the gibbet that is there behind. "I rather chose to die than lead that shameful life," said Terpin. "How hight that Amazon?" said Artegall. "She is Radigund, a princess of great power, Queen of the Amazons." "I will not rest," said Artegall, "till I have tried her might."

So Artegall went onward with Sir Terpin to assay "unknown peril of bold women's pride." On the first day there was a general battle, in which Talus sorely vexed and overran Radigund's women. Then Radigund bade her maid Clarin carry to Artegall a challenge.

In the fifth canto the challenge is accepted, Radigund meets Artegall in single combat. Artegall strikes her down, but when he has unlaced her helmet to strike off her head, he lets his sword of justice fall, for he is fascinated by her beauty. Seeing him weaponless, Radigund renewed attack. Artegall was thus overcome, and made the woman's thrall. Terpin was hanged. Talus laid about him with his flail among the women, and escaped, but did not attempt the rescue of his lord, because he thought it just to obey. Then Artegall was clad in woman's weeds and apron, and set spinning. His arms were hung on high, his sword was broken.

"Such is the crueltie of womenkynd,
When they have shaken off the shamefast band,

With which wise Nature did them strongly bynd
T' obay the heasts of man's well-ruling hand,
That then all rule and reason they withstand
To purchase a licentious libertie:
But virtuous women wisely understand,
That they were borne to base humilitie,
Unlesse the heavens them lift to lawfull soveraintie."

But Radigund became enamoured of her captive; and when she caused, for her own purposes, her maid Clarinda to visit him, Clarinda, too, became enamoured of the knight, and showed false semblance to her mistress.

In the sixth canto we read how Talus carried tidings of Artegall's misfortune to Britomart, how she proceeded to his rescue, and with the help of Talus, who lay as guardian outside her door, escaped the trap set by Dolon for those who slept within his castle, Talus destroying with his flail the armed rout that attacked her. In the morning Dolon and his sons were not be found.

Britomart passed on, crossed safely the perilous bridge on which Pollente fought with Artegall, destroying the sons of Dolon who there lay in wait. Coming then to the Church of Isis, she slept there and had a vision of the future, in which Isis and Osiris were types of herself and Artegall. Britomart is, as we have seen, Pure Love seeking to be joined to Justice; Artegall is Justice that must be wedded to Love. A crocodile lay under the feet of Isis, and

"that same Crocodile doth represent
The righteous Knight that is thy faithfull lover,
Like to Osyris in all just endever:
For that same Crocodile Osyris is,
That under Isis feete doth sleepe for ever;
To show that clemence oft, in things amis,
Restraines those sterne behests and cruell doomes of his."

Then Britomart proceeded to do battle with Radigund. The better part of womanhood conquered the worse. Radigund was slain. Talus threshed with his iron flail her followers, and made a piteous slaughter, which Britomart stayed, as she entered the town of the Amazons, where she set Artegall free.

"So there a while they afterwards remained,
Him to refresh and her late wounds to heale:

During which space she there as Princess rained,
And changing all that forme of common-weale
The liberty of women did repeale,
Which they had long usurpt; and, them restoring
To men's subjection, did true Justice deale,
That all they, as a Goddesse her adoring,
Her wisedome did admire, and hearkned to her loring."

Then Artegall went his way, for he had yet to achieve the adventure which had been entrusted to him by the Faerie Queene.

The next canto—the eighth—is the place of intervention. Artegall saw a damsel flying fast upon a palfrey before two pagan knights, whom another knight pursued. One of the pagans Artegall overthrew. Prince Arthur, who was the pursuing knight, struck down the other. Then follows the intervention of the Grace of God for overthrow of the brute force of a strong tyrant lifted on high and begirt with arms. The allegory recalls to mind England's late danger from the King of Spain, and the defeat of the Invincible Armada in July, 1588. The rescued damsel is Samient, who says that she serves Mercilla, a maiden queen of high renown, whose crown and dignity a mighty man who lives hereby seeks to subvert. He even seeks to slay the queen herself, thereto provoked by his bad wife, Adicia (Injustice). Mercilla had sent Samient to treat with Adicia, who cast her out with reviling and sent after her

"These two false knights, whom there ye lying see,
To be by them dishonouréd and shent:
But thankt be God, and your good hardiment,
They have the price of their own folly paid."

Artegall and Prince Arthur—Justice and the Grace of God—resolved to avenge the wrong done by the Soudan and Adicia, his lady. Artegall, disguised as a Paynim knight, rode to the Soudan's Court with Samient, was received as one who had brought her back a prisoner, but remained armed till Arthur came to require at the Soudan's hand that damsel, which he held as wrongful prisoner. Then comes a battle "on the green"—a phrase, Professor Craik thought, meant to indicate the sea, because this battle suggests the defeat of the Armada. The tyrant, riding forth on his high chariot, with iron wheels and hooks, armed dreadfully, and drawn by cruel steeds which he had fed on flesh of men, is met by Arthur, whom Artegall has bidden Talus serve as page. The Soudan—Wrong (Philip of Spain)—high on his chariot, strongly girt about with cruel arms, was dangerous. But when Prince Arthur unveiled his shield—shield of the Grace of God—his horses (ships

of the Armada) fell back, rushed with him as dismayed by lightning. His reins, his voice, were disregarded—

"Such was the furie of these head-strong steeds,
Soone as the infants sunlike shield they saw,
That all obedience both to words and deeds
They quite forgot, and scornd all former law:
Through woods, and rocks, and mountaines they did draw
The yron charet, and the wheeles did teare,
And tost the Paynim without fear or awe;
From side to side they tost him here and there,
Crying to them in vaine that nould his crying heare.

"Yet still the Prince pursew'd him close behind,
Oft making offer him to smite, but found
No easy meanes according to his mind:
At last they have all overthrowne to ground
Quite topside turvey, and the Pagan hound
Amongst the yron hookes and graples keene
Torn all to rags, and rent with many a wound;
That no whole peece of him was to be seene,
But scattred all about, and strow'd upon the greene."

The tyrant's lady, Adicia—whose name, from the Greek, means Injustice—ran into the woods and was transformed into a tiger.

"What tygre, or what other salvage wight,
Is so exceeding furious and fell
As wrong, when it hath arm'd it selfe with might?
Not fit mongst men that doe with reason mell,
But mongst wyld beasts, and salvage woods, to dwell;
Where still the stronger doth the weake devoure,
And they that most in boldnesse doe excell
Are dreadded most, and feaređ for their powre;
Fit for Adicia there to build her wicked bowre."

In the ninth canto, Arthur and Artegall, on their way to the Court of Mercilla, caught Malengin—Guile—who took many shapes to elude them, till at last, in the shape of a snake, he was crushed under the flail of Talus. Then came Justice and Divine Grace into the Court of Mercy, when Duessa was brought before Mercilla's judgment-seat; and every line in the allegory now glances at Mary Queen of Scots, against

whom Zeal sets forth the whole indictment, and whom Mercy herself is unwillingly forced to condemn.

In the tenth canto the contest of Justice against Wrong, by the aid of Divine Grace, represents the contest of the Protestants in the Netherlands against the power of Spain. Arthur is called to the aid of Belgè, who had "seventeen goodly sons"—the seventeen provinces of the Netherlands—of whom all but five were the prey of the son of Geryon, a cruel giant with three bodies, the three bodies being Spain, Naples, and the Empire:

> "But this fell tyrant of his tortious power
> Had left her now but five of all that brood,
> For twelve of them he did by times devour,
> And to his idols sacrificed their blood."

There were but five provinces—Holland, Guelders, Zealand, Utrecht, Friesland—that, in 1579, joined in the Union of Utrecht, by which they declared independence of Spain. Belgè was "new-made widow," by the assassination of the Prince of Orange, in 1584. She sent for help to the Court of Mercilla, and the Briton Prince, Prince Arthur, went to her aid. The expedition of the Earl of Leicester was in 1585, and this, no doubt, Spenser wished his readers to observe; but the allegory proceeds through this and the next canto to show victory through God's grace over tyranny and idolatry. There follows Artegall's achievement of the overthrow of Grantorto: Justice destroys Wrong. But first Spenser makes him meet on the way a knight—Sir Burbon—who has changed his shield; and clearly censures Henry IV. of France for having, in July, 1593, obtained his crown by doing, on grounds of political expediency, what he knew to be unjust, in abjuring his faith as a Protestant.

> "'But why have ye' (said Artegall) 'forborne
> Your owne good shield in daungerous dismay?
> That is the greatest shame and foulest scorne,
> Which unto any knight behappen may,
> To loose the badge that should his deedes display.'"

To the Bourbon's plea of expediency, Sir Artegall replies that his case is hard, but not so hard as the abandonment of honour: "Dye, rather than doe ought that mote dishonour yield."

> "'Not so,' (quoth he) 'for yet, when time doth serve,
> My former shield I may resume againe:
> To temporize is not from truth to swerve,
> Ne for advantage terme to entertaine,

Whenas necessitie doth it constraine.'
'Fie on such forgerie!' (sayd Artegall)
'Under one hood to shadow faces twaine:
Knights ought be true, and truth is one in all:
Of all things, to dissemble, foulv may befall!'"

Then in the last canto of this book Grantorto is slain and Irena freed. But as Artegall proceeds to the Faerie Court he is reviled by two ill-favoured hags, named Envy and Detraction.

"Thereto the Blatant Beast, by them set on,
At him began aloud to barke and bay
With bitter rage and fell contention,
That all the woods and rockes nigh to that way
Began to quake and tremble with dismay;
And all the aire rebellowéd againe,
So dreadfully his hundred tongues did bray:
And evermore those hags them selves did paine
To sharpen him, and their owne curséd tongs did straine."

The Blatant Beast is Slander, and Spenser, who associates the quality of Justice, in opposing itself to the enemies of Peace, with surface suggestions of the work of his old friend Arthur, Lord Grey, in Ireland, remembers now that evil tongues maligned him. Yet Artegall passed on, regardless of the stings of Envy and Detraction,

"he for nought would swerve
From his right coursé, but still the way did hold
To Faerie Court; where what him fell shall else be told."

The Sixth Book

Is of Sir Calidore, the Knight of Courtsey, whose name describes his quality as a beautiful gift. He meets Artegall, who tells of his achieved adventure. Sir Calidore tells of the adventure on which he is bound—the quest of the Blatant Beast. That beast is Slander, the quality most opposite to Courtesy, born of Cerberus and fell Chimæra, sent into the world to be the plague and scourge of wretched men.

"Sayd Artegall, 'I such a beast did see,
The which did seem a thousand tongues to have,
That all in spight and malice did agree,
With which he bayd and loudly barkt at me.'"

That is the Beast which Calidore pursues. "Now God you speed," quoth then Sir Artegall, "For ye have much adoe to deale withall." So both took goodly leave and parted severall.

Sir Calidore presently found a comely squire tied to a tree, suffering from the evil custom established by a disdainful knight, named Crudor, in a castle that commanded a close pass near by. The castle belonged to a lady named Briana, who loved Crudor, but he—

> "Refuséd hath to yeeld her love againe,
> Untill a mantle she for him doe fynd,
> With beards of knights, and locks of ladies lyned."

A strong seneschal, named Maleffort, had been put in the castle to work spitefully this wicked will. The squire, coming that way with a fair damsel, his belovéd dear, was set upon, and bound to the tree, and chase was given to his lady. While they spoke her criés were heard, as she was being haled by her yellow hair. Calidore interfered, and, said the earle,

> "Art thou the caytive that defyest me?
> And for this Mayd, whose party thou dost take,
> Wilt give thy beard, though it but little bee?
> Yet shall it not her lockes for ransome fro me free."

But Calidore beat on the Seneschal till he recoiled, and followed when he fled. Calidore cleft the head of Maleffort as he was passing through the castle gate, so that—

> "The carcasse, tumbling downe within the dore,
> Did choke the entrance with a lump of sin."

Then Calidore slew within the castle, and was reproached by the Lady with threat of a better knight, who would avenge his violence. Calidore answered that the shame and the just punishment were with those who defamed both noble arms and gentle courtesy. Let her, therefore, for dread of shame, forego the evil custom, and show, instead, mild courtesy to all who pass. Briana raged and threatened. Calidore said he would wait for her avenger. A dwarf was sent for Crudor, who came full of disdain. At the first strong rush both knights were unhorsed. Calidore leapt lightly to his feet, and seeing his adversary still in swoon, he would not hurt him though he might; "for shame he weend a sleeping wight to wound." They fought on foot. Crudor was overcome, and spared on condition that he broke the discourteous custom,

gave aid everywhere to ladies,' and at once married Briana without dower. Briana rejoiced now, ceased from reviling, and gave her castle to Calidore, who gave it to the squire and his damsel for recompense of all their former wrong.

In the second canto Calidore finds Tristram of Lyonesse, a youth of seventeen, in a woodman's jacket, killing an armed knight. A Lady beside them stands, alone on foot, in foul array. That knight, riding through a wood with his lady behind him, had seen another knight with his lady beside him and his armour off, disporting in the shade. He had attacked and wounded sorely that unarmed knight, seeking to take his lady from him, but she had escaped into the wood. The discourteous knight then refused to his own lady a seat on his horse, and, in his dudgeon, made her walk beside him, urging her with blows. Tristram had seen that and had interfered. The angry knight attacked the youth, who slew him by throwing one of two darts that he carried for use against wild beasts. When Calidore heard Tristram's story of himself, he assented to the youth's wish to pass from woodland sport to manly deeds of arms, and, as a step to knighthood, made Tristram his squire. But he could not be taken on the present quest, because Calidore was bound by vow to the Faerie Queene, that in its achievement he should bring no creature to his aid. Tristram's first duty was to raise the lady on the steed of her own dead knight, and conduct her on the way she wished to go. Calidore then went his own way alone. It brought him to the knight who had been wounded, and his lady—named Priscilla—who had hidden from the fray, and now lamented over him. Calidore told her the fate of their assailant, and then, making a bier of his hollow shield, helped her to carry the knight to a neighbouring castle.

The third canto tells how they remained till next day in the castle, which was that of the young knight's father. The father was named Aldus; the son, Aladine. Aladine had slipped into the wood to meet Priscilla, whose father, against her consent, had wished to wed her to a greater man than a knight's son. Aladine in the morning was revived, and Calidore undertook safe conduct of the lady to her father in a manner that would free her from all blame. To do that he went by the way where the knight lay whom Tristram slew. He cut off the knight's head and took it, with the lady, to her father's house, where it was shown as the head of a discourteous knight, who was carrying her away by outrageous force. There are two or three of these little tricks upon truth in the story of Sir Calidore, showing that even Spenser gave some slight assent to the old doctrine, that all is fair in love and war. But times have changed. What gentleman would now

bring an errant damsel to her father, with a gory head in his hand to show that all was as it should be?

Calidore proceeded on his quest and came upon another couple in the forest, innocently happy in each other, the knight with his armour off. He courteously excused himself for coming upon them so rudely, and was kindly received. While he talked with the knight, Sir Calepine, the lady, who was named Serena, wandered off to gather flowers for a garland.

> "All sodainely out of the forrest nere,
> The Blatant Beast forth rushing unaware,
> Caught her, thus loosely wandering here and there,
> And in his wide great mouth away her bore."

Though innocent, she gave an opportunity for Slander. Calidore followed so closely on the monster, who knew him for his mortal foe, that he dropped Serena from his jaws, and she was found by Sir Calepine, "having both sides through grypt with grisley wounds."

Calepine set Serena on his horse and walked beside, supporting her, in hope to find some hospitable place of shelter. He came to a stream, and did not know where he should find the ford. A scornful knight, Sir Turpine, came by with his lady, Blandina, who was fair spoken, but not sincere. Sir Turpine crossed and mocked. Sir Calepine, with difficulty, brought Serena to the other bank. There he defied Sir Turpine, who paid no heed to the defiance and rode on to his castle, near by. Sir Calepine followed to the castle, and with courteous words, asked shelter for the wounded lady. They were rudely shut out, and Calepine laid Serena to sleep under a bush, covered with cold, and wrapt in wretchedness. They went forward in the morning, and Sir Turpine, following, attacked Calepine with his lance. Sir Calepine fought on foot, and was sorely wounded in the shoulder. Still Turpine chased him savagely about the field.

Serena cried for help, and in the fourth canto "a salvage man which in those woods did wonne," of gentle birth, but without use of speech, rushed on Sir Turpine. The savage was, by magic art, made from his birth invulnerable. He fastened like a tiger upon Turpine, gripped his shield, till Sir Turpine, dropping shield and spear, shrieked and escaped by speed of his horse from swift pursuit. The wild man, who could only make his meaning known by signs, showed pity for Calepine and Serena, took them to his den in the woods, sought healing herbs, and cured the knight, but could not cure the wound made by the Blatant Beast.

One day Calepine went unarmed into the woods, to take the air and

hear the thrush's song, when he saw a bear with a screaming child in its jaws. He followed swiftly, the lighter for having put off his armour. The bear, hard pressed, let the child drop and turned on his pursuer. Calepine thrust a large, rough stone into his throat, grappled with him, and killed him. He took up the babe, loosened its swathings, found it was unhurt. But, when he wished to return, he had no marks to guide him through the wood, and could not find his way back to Serena, who was in the den of the wild man. He reached the open country, and found, on the border of the wood, a lady lamenting. She was happy in all things but the want of a child to inherit castle and lands, that otherwise would go at their death to the giant Cormorant. Here was the child wanted. The lady took it home, and added to her husband's happiness by making him believe it was her own. Again here is the notion that all's fair in love. Calepine would not accept the lady's offer of rest in her castle, but continued his search for Serena.

At the beginning of the fifth canto, the gentleness of the savage is ascribed to the fact that he was born of noble blood, "as ye may know when time shall be to tell the same." But that time was to come in the unwritten part of the poem. The Savage sought to find Sir Calepine, and showed by signs that he shared the distress of Serena. Then, at her wish, he set her on her lover's horse, put on himself the armour of Sir Calepine, taking all but the sword, which the knight himself had hidden, and they left the wood, the Savage faithfully serving the wounded lady.

On the way they met two errant knights, Prince Arthur and his squire, young Timias. Timias—restored to the favour of Belphœbe, though still subject to unjust detraction—bore himself so well and wisely that he dwelt in her sovereign liking evermore. But he had three mighty enemies who sought his overthrow—

> "The first of these by name was called Despetto,
> Exceeding all the rest in powre and hight;
> The second, not so strong but wise, Decetto;
> The third, nor strong nor wise, but spightfullest, Defetto."

These set the Blatant Beast on Timias, who forced him to turn and fly; but before he turned, when Timias, heedless, thought himself secure, the Beast bit him with his impure tooth. Still Timias pursued and battled with his enemies, who sought to close about him—

> "But most of all Defetto him annoyde,
> Creeping behind him still to have destroyde;

So did Decetto eke him circumvent;
But stout Despetto, in his greater pryde,
Did front him, face to face against him bent:
Yet he them all withstood, and often made relent."

When they saw the approach of a knight—Prince Arthur—the three fled, and Timias, the squire of Arthur, then again rode by his good lord's side.

Prince Arthur and his squire came where the wild man was busy with some disarranged part of the harness on Serena's horse. After some first blows between the squire and the wild man, they came to good understanding and went forward together, till they reached a hermitage where an old knight was spending the last years of life in prayer. At the hermitage Prince Arthur left Timias and Serena, to be healed of the wounds given by the Blatant Beast. The Prince rode on; the Savage went with him, and would not leave him.

In the sixth canto, the Hermit found that the poisonous sting infamy infixes can be cured by no arts of the leech: "Give salves to every sore, but counsel to the mind." His counsel was to avoid occasion of the ill, use self-restraint, shun secrecy, and talk in open sight. When this counsel was followed the wounds ceased to fester, and Timias and Serena went upon their way.

Presently they met with a fair maiden set upon a mangy steed, and led by a fool through dry and wet. Who she was we shall know after we have followed the Briton prince in his pursuit of the proud knight, Sir Turpine, who wrought foul despite to Sir Calepine and his lady. Arthur, with his companion the wild man, entered Turpine's castle as if weary, seeking rest. The Savage tore to pieces the groom who would have turned them out. The Prince and his companion struck dismay into the evil company. Sir Turpine fled into the chamber of Blandina, for whose love life was granted him. But he would have attacked Arthur in the night if he had dared.

In the seventh canto, when, in the morning, Arthur and the Savage went forth on their way, Turpine followed treacherously. After slandering the Prince to two young knights whom he met, he sent them to slay him, offering reward. One knight was slain in the attack. The other learnt the truth, and by deluding Turpine brought him to Arthur, who hung him by the heels on a tree—that is to say, baffled him—as a false knight.

Now we return to Calepine and to the lady on the mangy jade. She was fair Mirabella, whose great beauty had surrounded her with lovers, but she scorned them all. Cupid inquired into their deaths,

brought her to trial, and condemned her to be led through the world on a mean jade by the giant Disdain, who—

> "stalking stately, like a Crane, did stryde
> At every step uppon the tiptoes hie;
> And, all the way he went, on every syde
> He gaz'd about and staréd horriblie,
> As if he with his lookes would all men terrifie."

The fool

> "Was Scorn, who having in his hand a whip,
> Her therewith yirks; and still when she complaines
> The more he laughes."

Timias attacked the Giant boldly, but was overcome and bound. Serena fled, still seeking Calepine.

Then follows the eighth canto in this Book—not the only canto in which Arthur brings help, but the canto in which, above all others, his help is typical. He is victorious over the qualities that poison the fangs of the Blatant Beast, Disdain and Scorn; but the lady, free to choose whether they live or die, humbly desires that they may go with her till she has completed the penance Cupid had ordained, which gave them to her for companions until she had saved as many as before she slew.

We return, then, to Serena. She, while travelling in search of Calepine, was found asleep by a rout of cannibals, who eyed her hungrily. They sat silent about her till she awoke, because they thought that sleep would make her flesh the daintier. When she awoke they stripped her and built an altar, on which, in the dusk of evening, the priest of the wild cannibals would slay her for the feast. But Calepine, on his travels, hearing the wild noise, rushed in, and he was there to save her just as the knife was about to stab. Next morning he knew her.

What more was to be said of Calepine and Serena would have had its place in one of the unwritten books. For, from the ninth canto of the Sixth Book to the end there is a change of theme—change also of the poet's mood. Spenser, newly married, springs a new vein of romance, and builds a shrine for his wife in his book of Courtesy, as in his book of Friendship he had built a shrine for Chaucer.

Calidore, following his quest of the Blatant Beast, coursed him from court to city, from city to town, from towns into the country, into private farms, thence to the open fields; and there, when he came on shepherds singing to their flocks, he forced the Beast to quit the

little cotes. The shepherds welcomed him, and his eyes were drawn to a young shepherdess in homespun green, who wore a crown of flowers tied with silken ribands. This was Pastorella, for whom many a young shepherd languished, but chiefly Corydon. At sight of her, Sir Calidore stayed from his quest. He was bidden to her simple home by old Melibœe and his dame, whom Pastorella looked on as her parents. They refused gold from him, but he chose to put away his knightly rank and work among the shepherds for old Melibœe, who once was a prince's gardener and had seen the vainness of the courtier's life. Calidore's suit to the fair Pastorella was full of gentle courtesy to Corydon, whose credit he advanced. When they agreed that Colin Clout was the fit man to whose pipe they would dance, Calidore set Corydon to lead the dance. If a prize in wrestling was adjudged to Calidore, he gave it to Corydon, and said he won it well. The gentle knight made friends of all the rustic rout, for Courtesy amongst the rudest breeds goodwill and favour.

In the tenth canto, while his fair Pastorella was away, Calidore ranged the fields abroad, and found a pleasant plain upon a hill—Mount Acidale—where Venus used to rest among the Graces. As he came near he heard the merry sound of a shrill pipe, and, drawing nearer,

> "There he a troupe of Ladies dauncing found
> Full merrily, and making gladful glee,
> And in the midst a shepheard piping he did see."

Within the ring of ladies were the Graces—

> "And in the midst of these same three was placed
> Another damsel, as a precious gem
> Amidst a ring most richly well enchaced,
> That with her goodly presence all the rest much graced."

The circling band was beautiful as Ariadne's crown placed in the firmament—

> "But she that in the midst of them did stand
> Seem'd all the rest in beauty to excell,
> Crowned in a rosie girlond that right well
> Did her beseeme: And ever, as the crew
> About her daunst, sweet flowres that far did smell
> And fragrant odours they upon her threw;
> But most of all those three did her with gifts endew.

"Those were the Graces, daughters of delight,
Handmaides of Venus, which are wont to haunt
Uppon this hill, and daunce there day and night:
Those three to men all gifts of grace do graunt;
And all that Venus in her selfe doth vaunt,
Is borrowéd of them. But that fair one,
That in the midst was placéd paravaunt,
Was she to whom that shepheard pypt alone;
That made him pipe so merrily, as never none.

"She was, to weete, that jolly shepheard's lasse,
Which pipéd there unto that merry rout;
That jolly shepheard, which there pipéd, was
Poore Colin Clout (who knowes not Colin Clout?)
He pypt apace, whilest they him daunst about.
Pype, jolly shepheard, pype thou now apace
Unto thy love that made thee low to lout:
Thy love is present there with thee in place;
Thy love is there advaunst to be another grace."

When Calidore drew nearer yet, all vanished. But Calidore had speech with Colin Clout that carried on Spenser's own loyal strain of love, until it closed with the stanza:—

"Sunne of the world, great glory of the sky,
That all the earth doest lighten with thy rayes,
Great Gloriana, greatest Majesty!
Pardon thy shepheard, mongst so many layes,
As he hath sung of thee in all his dayes,
To make one minime of thy poore handmayd,
And underneath thy feete to place her prayse:
That when thy glory shall be farre displayd
To future age, of her this mention may be made!"

When the glory of God shines through the lives of men, let Spenser be remembered, with a wife beside him whom he loved and honoured. The stanza was, of course, meant also to bear the surface reading of great Gloriana as Elizabeth the Queen.

The end of the Book then follows quickly. While Calidore was on Mount Acidale, a band of brigands came down on the sheepcotes, drove the flocks away, and carried off the shepherds, Pastorella with them, to be sold to slavery. They took them to a cave reached by underground ways in a thickly-wooded island.

In the eleventh canto the captain of the brigands sought Pastorella for his own share of the spoil, sued for her love, and was held off by her on plea of illness, partly real and partly feigned. Merchants came to the island to buy slaves. When they had seen Pastorella they would choose no slaves unless they first had her. The captain of the brigands would not part with her. His men rebelled against him. Fighting began in the robber's cave, and the shepherd prisoners were killed that they might not join in attack on their captain. So died old Melibœe and his wife, among the rest, but Corydon crept out and fled. The candles were extinguished in the fray. Fighting went on in the dark. The captain of the brigands was killed defending Pastorella, and she herself fell wounded, seeming to be dead. When the brigands had called to each other to cease fighting and the rage was over, Pastorella was found to be living. Care was then taken to recover her, still closely prisoned.

Meanwhile Calidore, raging at the destruction of the shepherd's cottage and loss of his love, was found by the escaped Corydon, who told him what had happened. Corydon said that he had seen fair Pastorella die. Calidore overcame Corydon's dread, and was shown by him the way to the cave. Here Spenser used the phrase which Shakespeare made more than once nobly significant in the mouth of King Henry V. : "So forth they go together, *God before.*" Calidore stoutly attacked the brigands. Those who were not slain fled. Calidore gave the best of the brigands' heap of treasure to Pastorella, restored all the flocks and herds to Corydon, "so drove them all away, and his love with him bore."

Now comes, in the last canto, the binding of the Blatant Beast, the story of whose quest "was often stayed, but never was astray."

> "For all that hitherto hath long delayd
> This gentle knight from serving his first quest,
> Though out of course, yet hath not been missayed,
> To shew the courtesie by him profest,
> Even unto the lowest and the least."

Sir Calidore took Pastorella to the Castle of Belgard, which belonged to the old knight, Sir Bellamoure. That knight was, in his youth, secretly married to Claribel, daughter of the proud Lord of Many Islands, who had meant to wed his daughter to the Prince of Pictland. Claribel's proud father put his daughter and her husband into prison. A friendly nurse, Melissa, conveyed away the daughter who was born, laid her where she was found, and saw that she was found by Melibœe. Claribel's father died. She and her husband then had free possession

of their inheritance, but they had lost their daughter, who is Pastorella. Now, therefore, it is their daughter who is brought home to them by Sir Calidore and recognized by chance discovery of a rose-shaped mark that had been on the infant's breast. Calidore, who had paid honour to the lowly maiden and sought her in marriage, as a gentle shepherd, won a bride of gentle blood. This being settled, it remained only to finish the quest of the Blatant Beast. That Beast had gone among the clergy, searched the cloisters of the monks, entered the church, fouled altars, and cast to ground the images, for all their goodly hue. Calidore at last brought him to bay. When the Beast ran at him, it was—

"With open mouth that seemèd to containe
A full good pecke within the utmost brim,
All set with yron teeth in raunges twaine
That terrifide his foes, and armèd him,
Appearing like the mouth of Orcus grisely grim.

"And therein were a thousand tongues empight,
Of sundry kindes, and sundry quality;
Some were of dogs, that barkèd day and night;
And some of cats, that wrawling still did cry;
And some of beares, that groynd continually;
And some of tygres, that did seem to gren
And snar at all that ever passèd by:
But most of them were tongues of mortall men,
Which spake reproachfully, not caring where or when."

Calidore, when the Beast ramped upon him, cast his shield between, then forced him back, threw him over and held him down beneath the shield, raging and roaring.

"He grind, hee bit, he scratcht, he venim threw,
And faréd like a feend, right horrible in hew."

The Beast then, with all his hundred tongues, reviled the Knight of Courtesy, until his mouth was closed with a strong iron muzzle, and a long chain tied to it. Then, trembling like a fearful dog, the Blatant Beast followed Sir Calidore throughout all Faery land. Thus was this monster mastered that he could defame no more with his vile tongue, and so he long remained—

"Until that (whether wicked fate so framed
Or fault of men) he broke his yron chaine,
And got into the world at liberty againe."

So now he rageth sore in each degree and state—

" Ne spareth he most learned wits to rate,
Ne spareth he the gentle Poet's rime;
But rends without regard of person or of time."

And Spenser adds—

" Ne may this homely verse, of many meanest,
Hope to escape his venemous despite
More than my former writs, all were they cleanest
From blamefull blot, and free from all that wite
With which some wicked tongues did it backbite
And bring into a mighty Pere's displeasure,
That never so deservéd to endite.
Therefore do you, my rimes, keep better measure,
And seek to please; that now is counted wise men's
threasure."

CHAPTER XI.

RICHARD HOOKER.

RICHARD HOOKER was born at Heavitree, now a suburb of Exeter, in March, 1554. Like Spenser, from whom he differed in views of Church polity, he was wholly an Elizabethan writer; each came as a young child into the reign, and they died, before Elizabeth, within a year of each other. In literature Spenser is the greatest representative of Elizabethan Puritanism, and Hooker wrote the wisest and best argument against it. Both were true men who sought to serve God faithfully with all their powers, and they agreed more than they differed. Spenser, indeed, differed so much from the narrower Puritanism of his time, and was so fully in accord with Hooker's religious spirit, that we cannot think of them as in opposite camps. When different tendencies of thought lead men to seek one great end by different ways, and great parties are formed, it is between the lesser combatants—who confound accident with substance, and give themselves up to fierce contention about phrases, words, and outward shows—that the jar is dissonant. Between the best and purest upon each side, who are one in aim, and who both look to essentials, the accord is really greater than the discord.

Richard Hooker.

Richard Hooker's parents were poor, but his uncle John was a man of mark.* Richard's great-grandfather and

* "E. W." ix. 101.

his grandfather had in their turn been mayors of the city; and the boy's schoolmaster, who found in him an actively inquiring mind, and, under a slow manner, a quiet eagerness for knowledge, urged upon his richer uncle that there ought to be found for such a nephew, in some way, at least a year's maintenance at one of the universities. John Jewel, who was also a Devonshire man, had been sent into his own county and the West of England as a visitor of churches, upon his return to England after the death of Queen Mary. Thus he had established friendly acquaintance with John Hooker, and presently afterwards he was made Bishop of Salisbury. John Hooker then visited the bishop in Salisbury, and talked about his nephew. Jewel said he would judge for himself, and offered to see the boy and his schoolmaster. When he saw them he gave a reward to the schoolmaster, and a small pension to Richard's parents, in aid of the education of their son. In 1567, when Richard Hooker was a boy of fifteen, Bishop Jewel sent him to Oxford, placing him by special recommendation under the oversight of Dr. Cole, then President of Corpus Christi College. Dr. Cole provided Hooker with a tutor, and gave him a clerk's place in the college, which yielded something in aid of his uncle's contribution and the pension from the bishop. In this way Richard Hooker's education was continued for about three years, and then, when he was eighteen, he had a dangerous illness which lasted for two months. His mother prayed continually for the life of her promising son, who used afterwards to pray in his turn "that he might never live to occasion any sorrow to so good a mother; of whom he would often say, he loved her so dearly, that he would endeavour to be good even as much for hers as for his own sake." * Being recovered at Oxford, Richard Hooker went home to Exeter on foot, with another student from Devon-

* Izaak Walton's Life of Hooker is the source of these and other details.

shire, and took Salisbury upon his way, that he might pay his respects to Bishop Jewel. The bishop invited Richard and his companion to dinner, and after dinner sent them away with good advice and benediction. Remembering after they left that he had omitted the help of a little money, the good bishop sent a servant to bring Hooker back, and when he returned said, "Richard, I sent for you back to lend you a horse which hath carried me many a mile, and, I thank God, with much ease." The horse was a walking-stick that Jewel had brought from Germany, "And, Richard, I do not give, but lend my horse: be sure you be honest and bring my horse back to me at your return this way to Oxford. And I now give you ten groats to bear your charges to Exeter; and here is ten groats more, which I charge you to deliver to your mother, and tell her I send her a bishop's benediction with it, and beg the continuance of her prayers for me. And if you bring my horse back to me, I will give you ten groats more to carry you on foot to the college; and so God help you, good Richard." Thus the loan of the walking-stick pledged Richard to call on his way back. He did call, and then saw for the last time his kindly patron. John Jewel died in September of the same year, 1571, and Hooker would have been unable to remain at Oxford if the president of his college, Dr. Cole, had not at once bidden him go on with his studies, and undertaken to see that he did not want. After about nine months, also, Hooker was aided by a legacy from the bishop—a legacy of love, not of money.

Not long before his death Jewel had been talking to his friend Edwin Sandys, who had newly succeeded Edmund Grindal in the bishopric of London. In his talk he had said much of the pure nature and fine intellect and studious life of young Richard Hooker. The Bishop of London resolved, as he heard this, that when he should send Edwin, his son, to college, though he was himself a Cambridge man,

he would choose Oxford, and send him to Corpus Christi that he might have Hooker for a tutor. This he did about nine months after Bishop Jewel's death. Hooker was then nineteen, and his pupil—afterwards Sir Edwin Sandys, author of the "Speculum Europæ"—not very much younger; but the bishop wisely sought for his boy a tutor and friend who, as he said, "shall teach him learning by instruction and virtue by example: and my greatest care shall be of the last." George Cranmer (nephew's son to the archbishop) and other pupils soon joined Sandys, and found in Hooker a tutor with a rare power of communicating what he knew, and a life unostentatiously devout that stirred their affections. His health was not vigorous, and weakened by a sedentary life of study. He was short, stooping, very short-sighted, and subject to pimples: so shy and gentle that any pupil could look him out of countenance. He could look no man hard in the face, but had the habitual down look that Chaucer's host in the "Canterbury Tales" is made to ascribe to the poet. When Hooker was a rector, he and his clerk never talked but with both their hats off together. He was never known to be angry, never heard to repine, could be witty without use of an ill word, and by his presence restrained what was unfit, without abating what was innocent, in the mirth of others. In December of the year 1573, in which the Bishop of London's son became his pupil, Hooker became one of the twenty foundation scholars of his college, who were, by the founder's statutes, to be natives of Devonshire or Hampshire. Hooker became Master of Arts in 1577, and in the same year Fellow of his College. His first pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer, remained the attached friends of Richard Hooker, who worked on at Oxford, devoting himself much to study of the Bible, which was written, he said, "not to beget disputations, and pride, and opposition to government; but charity and humility, moderation,

obedience to authority, and peace to mankind"; qualities of which "no man did ever yet repent himself on his death-bed."

In 1579, when he and Edmund Spenser were about twenty-six years old, and Spenser published his first book, "The Shepheardes Calender," Richard Hooker was appointed to read the public Hebrew lecture in the University, and continued to do so while he remained at Oxford. In 1581 he was ordained priest, and soon afterwards appointed to preach one of the sermons at Paul's Cross. This appointment led indirectly to his marriage.

The first stone of St. Paul's, as we have it now, was not laid until nearly a hundred years later, in 1675, and the new building was raised in accordance with the classicism of that later time. The old cathedral, ruined by the Fire of London, was, like other English cathedrals, Gothic, and had, until 1561, a spire. But in that year there broke over London a great storm, that struck with lightning first the Church of St. Martin upon Ludgate Hill, and soon afterwards the spire of St. Paul's, a structure of wood covered with lead, which it set on fire. The fire burned downwards for four hours, melted the church bells, and then ran along the roof, which fell in. There were collections in all dioceses for the restoration of the church, and it was roofed again, but the steeple never was rebuilt.

Paul's Cross stood in the churchyard on the north side of the Cathedral, towards the east end. A cross in that place is said to have been first erected by Goodrich, abbot of Peterborough, to remind passers-by to pray for the souls of certain monks of Peterborough there buried, who had been massacred by the Danes in the year 870. There was already a custom of preaching at this cross in the latter years of Edward III. The cross preached from in Elizabeth's reign had been built on the old site by Thomas Kempe, who was Bishop of London from A.D. 1450 to A.D. 1490.

Careful choice was made of the preachers who were invited to deliver sermons at St. Paul's Cross. Besides his fee, each minister who was not resident in London had right of board and lodging for two days before and one day after his sermon, in a house kept for the purpose, which was known as the Shunamite's House. A friend had persuaded Richard Hooker not to make the journey from Oxford to London on foot, but to maintain the dignity of his office by going on horseback. The weather being wet, and he no rider, he arrived at the Shunamite's House soaking and sore, with a very bad cold and doubt whether the two days' rest would so far recover him that he could preach. But the mistress of the house, a Mrs. Churchman, paid such exemplary attention to him, that when Sunday came he was equal to his duty. Then the good woman advised her grateful guest that, as he was of a tender constitution, he should take a wife who could nurse him, prolong his life, and make it comfortable. To this counsel the simple-hearted scholar duly assented, and asked Mrs. Churchman to find for him such a wife. She found him her own daughter Joan, whose chance of a husband seemed otherwise, perhaps, not of the best, since she had no money, and was neither good-looking nor good-tempered.* Her father was a pious man, who had failed in business as a draper in Watling Street, and had been made keeper of the Shunamite's House because he was fit for the office, and in need of help to live. Hooker's marriage drew him from his quiet student life at Oxford. A small living was given to him near Aylesbury, at Drayton-

* These details are from Izaak Walton's life of Hooker, and represent what friends said, perhaps too unfavourably, about Mrs. Hooker. She was very soon married again after Richard's death. Four months after the death of her first husband she was found dead in her bed, and the second husband—to whom she was then already joined—fell under unjust suspicion of having poisoned her.

Beauchamp, in December, 1584, and he had lived for about a year in his country parsonage when he was visited by his old pupils, Edwin Sandys and George Cranmer. They found him reading Horace in a field, and minding a few sheep while the servant was gone to his dinner and to help in household work. They sat with him until the man returned, then went with him into the house, but lost his company when Richard was called to rock the cradle of his first-born. They left next day with no flattering opinion of Mrs. Hooker, but with increased reverence for their old tutor, whom they saw gently bearing a life of poverty in a home where there was no sympathy to cheer it. When Cranmer glanced at this on leaving, Hooker is said to have replied, "My dear George, if saints have usually a double share in the miseries of this life, I that am none ought not to repine at what my wise Creator has appointed for me, but labour, as indeed I do daily, to submit mine to His will, and possess my soul in patience and peace."

The consequence of this visit was that Edwin Sandys strongly represented to his father, who was then Archbishop of York, Hooker's desert and need. The next opportunity was, therefore, taken of using patronage for the substantial improvement of his fortunes; and in March, 1585, Richard Hooker, then only thirty-four years old, was made Master of the Temple. Walter Travers, who had the Earl of Leicester for patron, had been appointed Evening Lecturer at the Temple. Travers, after graduating as M.A. from Trinity College, Cambridge, had been to Geneva, where he was a friend of Beza's, and had been ordained as Presbyter at Antwerp. He was now a Cambridge Bachelor of Divinity. The Puritan element was strong even in this society of lawyers, and many thought that Walter Travers should have been appointed to the place given to Richard Hooker. Hooker preached in the morning, Travers in the evening: so it was said that "the forenoon sermon spake Canterbury

and the afternoon Geneva." Then Archbishop Whitgift prohibited the preaching of Travers, and thereby raised a bitter controversy. Richard Hooker sought in his gentle way to maintain himself against it, the hardest thing said by him in the matter being, in reply to the accusations against him, "that he prayed before and not after his sermons; that in his prayers he named bishops; that he kneeled both when he prayed and when he received sacrament: and," he said, "other exceptions so like these, as but to name I should have thought a greater fault than to commit them."

The bitterness of personal contention pained Hooker acutely. He could not take part in it, and it distracted him when he would give pure thought to the principles involved in the dispute. There was a great controversy within the Church; a desire for truth and right was at the heart of it on both sides; but on each side, as usual, blind passion was eloquent, and there were many partisans who never looked below the surface. Hooker desired escape out of the noise, that he might make a right use of his powers in God's service, and at last he wrote this letter to the Archbishop:—

"MY LORD, when I lost the freedom of my cell, which was my college, yet I found some degree of it in my quiet country parsonage: but I am weary of the noise and oppositions of this place; and indeed God and Nature did not intend me for contentions, but for study and quietness. My lord, my particular contests with Mr. Travers here have proved the more unpleasant to me, because I believe him to be a good man; and that belief hath occasioned me to examine mine own conscience concerning his opinions; and to satisfy that, I have consulted the Scripture, and other laws, both human and divine, whether the conscience of him and others of his judgment might be so far complied with as to alter our frame of Church-government, our manner of God's worship, our praising and praying to Him, and our established ceremonies, as often as his and other tender consciences shall require us. And in this examination I have not only satisfied myself, but have begun a treatise in which I intend a justification of the Laws of our Ecclesiastical Polity; in which design God and His holy angels shall at the last great day bear me that witness which

my conscience now does, that my meaning is not to provoke any, but rather to satisfy all, tender consciences; and I shall never be able to do this but where I may study, and pray for God's blessing on my endeavours, and keep myself in peace and privacy, and behold God's blessings spring out of my mother earth, and eat my own bread without oppositions; and therefore, if your grace can judge me worthy of such a favour, let me beg it, that I may perfect what I have begun."

The result of this pleading was that, in the year 1591, Richard Hooker resigned the more lucrative, and, in a worldly sense, important office of Master of the Temple, and was presented to the living of Boscombe, in Wiltshire, about six miles from Salisbury, and to a prebend of small value—Nether Avon—in Salisbury Cathedral. At Boscombe he was remote enough from strife of cities, and would be free to use his pen while doing his duty to his parishioners; for the whole population of his parish was scarcely above a hundred. Richard Hooker lived four years at Boscombe—from 1591 to 1595—and there he completed, by March, 1593, the first four of the eight books which he had planned as the natural division of his work. They were first published in 1594. The spirit and plan of the whole work are expressed by Hooker himself, in his "Preface to them that seek (as they term it) the Reformation of Laws and Orders Ecclesiastical in the Church of England." The spirit of the book is in Hooker's reference to the bitterness shown against all the orders and laws wherein the English Church, under Elizabeth, was unconformable to the platform of Geneva. Upon this his simple comment was—"All that I mean to say is but this:—There will come a time when three words, uttered with charity and meekness, shall receive a far more blessed reward than three thousand volumes written with disdainful sharpness of wit."

The plan of the work was to open a discussion upon the fitness of the laws established in the English Church, with—

A First Book on the Nature of Law, its origin and aim.

A Second Book on the supposed need of a direct command from Scripture as authority for every order in the Church; the same point that was argued against the Puritans of the fifteenth century in Bishop Pecock's "Repressor of Over Much Blaming of the Clergy."*

A Third Book on the argument that, as God will ever have a Church upon earth, needing government, of which He must be both author and teacher, there must be found in Scripture some particular form of Ecclesiastical Polity, the laws whereof admit not any kind of alteration.

A Fourth, to deal with accusations against the Reformed Church under Elizabeth, that it had retained Popish rites and ceremonies, which should have been abolished.

This was the matter discussed in the Four Books of Ecclesiastical Polity first published. The subjects of the other four books were then said to be—

The Fifth, of our laws that concern the Public Religious Duties of the Church, and the manner of bestowing that power of order, which enableth men in sundry degrees and callings to execute the same.

The Sixth, of the power of Jurisdiction, which the reformed platform claimeth unto lay-elders, with others.

The Seventh, of the power of Jurisdiction, and the honour which is annexed thereunto, in Bishops.

The Eighth, of the power of ecclesiastical dominion or Supreme Authority, which with us the highest governor or Prince hath, as well in regard of domestical jurisdictions as of that other foreignly claimed by the Bishop of Rome.

Of these books, the first had in after years large influence in discussions on the nature and authority of law as it touched the relations of the subject to the sovereign. The first principles laid down by Hooker as foundations of inquiry into questions of Church Polity repudiated or

* "E. W." vi. 187–195.

adopted, were afterwards, in arguments that touched the State, opposed by Hobbes, and supported strongly by Locke, who took particular delight in quoting Hooker, and who first fixed to his name its adjective of praise by citing him again and again as "the judicious Hooker." To this first book, therefore, we must pay particular attention.

Ecclesiastical Polity.—Book I.

Richard Hooker opens the first book of his "Ecclesiastical Polity" with observations on the disadvantage in argument at which they are placed who maintain the conservative point of view, and on the fact that he may seem for a time tedious and obscure to many who find difficulty upon unfamiliar ground, since he intends to reason from first causes, holding that way to be best for the ascertainment of truth. Conclusions so arrived at will be surer, and when reached will also help us to understand the first principles more clearly. Do we who maintain Church Law uphold only a vain tradition? Let us seek the truth as to this matter. What are Laws? The just means to an end, subject to their author, God, who is the First Cause of Order and of Law. He uses in all things means towards ends, for the accomplishment of which He limits the use of His infinite power. God's purposes are not always known to us, "howbeit undoubtedly a proper and certain reason there is of every finite work of God, inasmuch as there is a law imposed upon it; which if there were not, it should be infinite, even as the Worker Himself is." God hath made to Himself a law eternal, whereby He worketh all things of which He is the cause and author. "That little thereof which we darkly apprehend, we admire; the rest with religious ignorance we humbly and meekly adore."

God's law is eternal and immutable; a part of it His promises declare, and all else must be in accord with them. God's eternal purpose, which He keeps, is the first law eternal. The second eternal law is that which man makes for himself in true accord with Reason and Revelation.

Eternal Law is of three kinds, according to the kinds of things that are subject to it: (*a*) natural law, which orders natural agents; (*b*) heavenly, observed by the angels; (*c*) human, "that which, out of the law either of reason or God, men probably gathering to be expedient, they make it a law."

God's will is fixed in the Law of Nature on which human life depends. But Hooker's philosophy here falters a little, for he sees

an occasional swerving which he ascribes to the defect of matter cursed for the sin of man, and he does not point out that some operations may appear only to be irregular till we completely understand the laws that govern them. "But howsoever," Hooker says, "these swervings are now and then incident to the course of nature, nevertheless, so constantly the laws of nature are by natural agents observed, that no man denieth but those things which nature worketh are wrought, either always or for the most part, after one and the same manner." What causes this uniform obedience to law? The works of Nature are the will of God. "Those things which Nature is said to do, are by divine art performed, using Nature as an instrument; nor is there any such art or knowledge divine in Nature herself working, but in the guide of Nature's work." His guidance accords with that determining of means to ends which "is rightly termed by the name of Providence. The same being referred unto the things themselves here disposed by it, was wont by the ancient to be called Natural Destiny." Each force of nature is subject to its own law, and bound also to serve the common good of all.

To Heavenly Law the angels pay perfect obedience. With intellectual desire to resemble God in goodness and do good to His creatures, especially to Men, in whom they see themselves beneath themselves, the Angels love, adore, and imitate. Individually they praise God; they work together in God's army; as fellow-servants with men they are God's ministers of grace. When Angels fell through pride it was by reflex of their understanding on themselves, and they became dispersed labourers against the law of God. They have been honoured as themselves gods before light came into the world.

The argument next proceeds to its especial topic, Human Law.

Except in God, there is in all things higher possibility that breeds desire towards perfection, which is Goodness, looking to the highest, namely, to that which is nearest God. Everything helps in some way, and is therefore good. Man especially aspires. God is eternal: and man, therefore, seeks continued life, a long personal life and continuance by offspring. God is immutable: and man, therefore, seeks fixity of purpose. God is exact: and man, therefore, seeks precision in details. These desires are so bound to us that we hardly observe them. But external perfections of truth and virtue (desired as they become known) are sought more noticeably, and still after the pattern of God.

Angels have all knowledge of which they are capable: Men grow towards it. Of natural agents, living animals may excel men in the lower things of sense, as stones excel animals in firmness and dura-

bility; but the soul of Man as he grows in reason reaches beyond sensible things. With the right helps of art and study, men as they might be would excel men as they are, not less than men as they are excel the simpleton. The very first man who took the right way —Aristotle—excelled all before and after him. To the praise of the method of Aristotle Hooker adds his dispraise of the method of Ramus. Education and instruction make us capable of Law. By reason we attain to knowledge beyond that of the senses. We act sometimes for the goodness we find in the mere stir and change, and sometimes only for the end to be attained. In either case we act freely. We choose that which seems good in our eyes.

Knowledge and Will determine choice. Will seeks the good to which Reason points; Appetite, that which satisfies the senses. Affections rise involuntarily at the sight of some things; the Will has power to stay their action. "Appetite is the Will's solicitor, and the Will is Appetite's controller." Reason enough to give Will power over Appetite makes action upon Appetite also voluntary; and this even when, half unobserved, the Appetite assents by not dissenting or using power to prevent.

Children and men without reason are guided by the reason of others. Reason seeks only such good as it judges to be possible. Good may be attainable by ways avoided for unpleasantness, and Evil (never desired for itself) may be sought for some appearance of goodness in the ways to it. Goodness moves only when apparent; while hidden it is neglected. Sensible good is always obvious, and is sought till higher reason comes to show the higher object of desire. In all sin a lesser good is preferred to the greater which reason can make known. The root of this, says Hooker, is the Curse, weakening the instrument—the soul within the flesh. Man seeking the utmost good fails in discernment of it.

We discern by knowledge of causes and by observation of signs. The latter way, though less sure, is easier and fitter for the weakness of the age. A sign of evident goodness is general acceptance. The general and perpetual voice of men is as the sentence of God Himself. For that which all men have at all times learned, Nature herself must needs have taught; and God, being the author of Nature, her voice is but His instrument. By her from Him we receive whatsoever in such sort we learn. Much truth is thus open to the common light of Reason.

As Hooker's argument advances from stage to stage, he inserts little summaries of it at successive resting-places, and we come now to the first of the summaries.

We pass then to the next stage of Richard Hooker's argument upon the nature of Law. The main principles of Reason are, he says, in themselves apparent. The greater good should be chosen before the lesser; but choice errs where the lesser good is seen, the greater unseen. We seek knowledge for the preservation of life, and beyond that, also, firstly for its own sake—for the delight in contemplation itself—and secondly, for its use in providing rules of action.

We know all things either as they are in themselves, or as they are in mutual relation to one another. The knowledge of what man is in reference to himself, and of other things in relation to man, is at the source of all natural laws which govern human actions. The best things produce the best operations; and, considering that all parts of man concur in producing human actions, it cannot be well if the diviner part—the soul—do not direct the baser. "This is therefore the first Law, whereby the highest power of the mind requireth general obedience at the hands of all the rest concurring with it unto action."

So we may seek for the several grand mandates of the understanding part of Man which control his Will; whether they import his duty to God or to his fellow-man.

Even the natural man seems to know that there is a God on whom all things depend; who is therefore to be honoured, of whom we ask what we desire, as children of their father, and of whom we learn "what is in effect the same that we read, 'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, with all thy soul, and with all thy mind'; which Law our Saviour doth term the First and the Great Commandment."

Upon these two principles of Duty to God and Man, found out by the understanding faculty of the mind, all Law depends; and the natural measure whereby to judge our doings is, therefore, "the sentence of Reason determining and setting down what is good to be done." Which sentence is either mandatory, showing what must be done; or else permissive, declaring only what may be done; or, thirdly, admonitory, opening what is most convenient for us to do. For there are degrees of goodness in action, and a Law is properly that of which Reason says that it must be done; and the Law of Reason is that which men have found out for themselves that they are all and always bound to in their actions.

Laws of Reason have these marks: (1) They who keep them act as Nature works—in a fit harmony, without superfluity and defect. (2) They are investigable by Reason without the aid of Revelation. (3) They are so investigable that the knowledge of them is general; the

world has always been acquainted with them. Each particular man may not know them, but he can, with natural perfection of wit and ripeness of judgment, find them out, and of the general principles of them it is not easy to find men ignorant. "Do as thou wouldest be done unto," says Saint Augustine, "is a sentence which all nations under heaven are agreed upon. Refer this sentence to the love of God, and it extinguisheth all heinous crimes; refer it to the love of thy Neighbour, and all grievous wrongs it banisheth out of the world." Saint Augustine held, therefore, that by the Law of Reason certain principles were universally agreed upon, and that out of them the greatest moral duties we owe towards God or man may without any great difficulty be concluded.

Why, then, can there be such failure in the knowledge of even principal moral duties, that breach of them is not considered sin? In part this may come of evil custom spreading from the ignorance and wickedness of a few, but partly it comes through want of the grace of God. "For whatsoever we have hitherto taught, or shall hereafter, concerning the force of man's natural understanding, this we always desire withal to be understood: that there is no kind of faculty or power in man or any other creature, which can rightly perform the functions allotted to it, without perpetual aid and concurrence of that supreme cause of all things."

Great good comes to man from observance of the Law of Reason, "for we see the whole world and each part thereof so compacted, that as long as each thing performeth only that work which is natural unto it, it thereby preserveth both other things and also itself. Thus righteousness, which is the willing observance of this law, has a Reward attached to it, and sin, which is the wilful transgression of it, a Punishment. Rewards and punishments always presuppose something willingly done, well or ill." "Take away the will," says the Code of Justinian, "and all things are equal: That which we do not, and would do, is commonly accepted as done." Rewards and Punishments are only received at the hands of those who are above us, and have power to examine and judge our deeds. The inward and secret good or evil, which God only knows, God only rewards or punishes, "for which cause the Roman laws, called the Laws of the Twelve Tables, requiring offices of inward affection which the eye of man cannot reach unto, threaten the neglectors of them with none but divine punishment." In external actions men have authority over one another. How do they acquire it? Here follows that view of the social compact which especially caused John Locke to quote Hooker, and attach to his name again and again the adjective "judicious":—

"Two foundations there are which bear up public societies: the one, a natural inclination, whereby all men desire sociable life and fellowship; the other, an order expressly or secretly agreed upon touching the manner of their union in living together. The latter is that which we call the Law of a Commonweal, the very soul of a politic body, the parts whereof are by law animated, held together, and set on work in such actions as the common good requireth. . . . . Men always knew that when force and injury was offered they might be defenders of themselves. They knew that howsoever men may seek their own commodity, yet if this were done with injury unto others it was not to be suffered, but by all men and by all good means to be withstood. Finally they knew that no man might in reason take upon him to determine his own right, and according to his own determination proceed in maintenance thereof, inasmuch as every man is towards himself and them whom he greatly affecteth partial; and therefore that strifes and troubles would be endless, except they gave their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon: without which consent there was no reason that one man should take upon him to be lord or judge over another. Because, although there be according to the opinion of some very great and judicious men a kind of natural right in the noble, wise, and virtuous, to govern them which are of servile disposition, nevertheless for manifestation of this their right, and men's more peaceable contentment on both sides, the assent of them who are to be governed seemeth necessary. . . . . So that in a word all public regiment of what kind soever seemeth evidently to have risen from deliberate advice, consultation, and composition between men, judging it convenient and behoveful; there being no impossibility in nature considered by itself, but that men might have lived without any public regiment. Howbeit, the corruption of our nature being presupposed, we may not deny that the law of nature doth now require of necessity some kind of regiment. . . . .

"The case of man's nature standing therefore, as it doth, some kind of regiment the law of nature doth require; yet the kinds thereof being many, nature tieth not to any one, but leaveth the choice as a thing arbitrary. At the first, when some kind of regiment was once approved, it may be that nothing was then further thought upon for the matter of governing, but all permitted unto their wisdom and discretion which were to rule; till by experience they found this for all parts very inconvenient, so as the thing which they had devised for a remedy did indeed but increase the sore which it should have cured. They saw that to live by one man's will became the cause of all men's misery. This

constrained them to come unto laws, wherein all men might see their duties beforehand, and know the penalties of transgressing them.

. . . . . .

"Laws do not only teach what is good, but they enjoin it, they have in them a certain constraining force. And to constrain men unto any thing inconvenient doth seem unreasonable. Most requisite, therefore, it is that to devise laws which all men shall be forced to obey none but wise men be admitted."

. . . . . .

"Howbeit laws do not take their constraining force from the quality of such that devise them, but from that power which doth give them the strength of laws. That which we spake before concerning the power of government must here be applied unto the power of making laws whereby to govern; which power God hath over all: and by the natural law, whereunto He hath made all subject, the lawful power of making laws to command whole politic societies of men belongeth so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth to exercise the same of himself, and not either by express commission immediately and personally received from God, or else by authority derived at the first from their consent upon whose persons they impose laws, it is no better than mere tyranny.

"Of this point therefore we are to note, that sith men naturally have no full and perfect power to command whole politic multitudes of men, therefore utterly without our consent we could in such sort be at no man's commandment living. And to be commanded we do consent, when that society whereof we are part hath at any time before consented, without revoking the same after by the like universal agreement. Wherefore as any man's deed past is good as long as himself continueth; so the act of a public society of men done five hundred years sithence standeth as theirs who presently are of the same societies, because corporations are immortal; we were then alive in our predecessors, and they in their successors do live still. Laws therefore, human, of what kind soever, are available by consent."

We shall have to glance back at this argument when considering, in another volume, the political philosophies of Hobbes and Locke. Laws made for the ordering of politic societies either establish duties whereunto all men by the law of reason did before stand bound; or else, for particular reasons, make that a duty which before was none. Where a law of society punishes outward transgression of a law of

reason or conscience, that law being in part natural, or of Divine establishment, is mixedly human. Where it concerns only what reason may under particular conditions hold to be convenient, as the manner in which property shall pass after its owner's death, such law is merely human. Laws, whether mixedly or merely human, are made by politic societies: some only as those societies are civilly united; some, as they are spiritually joined and form a Church. Of human laws in this latter kind the third book of "Ecclesiastical Polity" would treat.

Besides (1) the natural Law of Reason that concerned men as men, and (2) that which belongs to them as they are men linked with others in some form of politic society, there is (3) the law touching the public commerce of the several bodies politic with one another—that is, the Law of Nations. Civil society contents us more than solitary living, for it enlarges the good of mutual participation; not content with this, we covet a kind of society and fellowship even with all mankind. In all these kinds of law the corruption of men has added to the Primary Laws that suffice for the government of men as they ought to be, Secondary Laws which are needed for men as they are, "the one grounded upon sincere, the other built upon depraved, nature. Primary laws of nations are such as concern embassage, such as belong to the courteous entertainment of foreigners and strangers, such as serve for commodious traffic and the like. Secondary laws in the same kind are such as this present unquiet world is most familiarly acquainted with; I mean laws of arms, which yet are much better known than kept."

Besides this law for civil communion, Christian nations have judged a like agreement needful in regard even of Christianity; and General Councils of the Church represent this kind of correspondence, so that the Church of God here on earth may have her laws of spiritual commerce between Christian nations. "A thing," says Hooker—

"A thing whereof God's own blessed Spirit was the author; a thing practised by the holy Apostles themselves; a thing always afterwards kept and observed throughout the world; a thing never otherwise than most highly esteemed of, till pride, ambition, and tyranny began by factious and vile endeavours to abuse that divine invention unto the furtherance of wicked purposes. But as the just authority of civil courts and parliaments is not therefore to be abolished, because sometime there is cunning used to frame them according to the private intents of men overpotent in the commonwealth; so the grievous abuse which hath been of councils should rather cause men to study how so gracious a thing may again be reduced to that first perfection,

than in regard of stains and blemishes sithence growing be held for ever in extreme disgrace. . . . . I nothing doubt but that Christian men should much better frame themselves to those heavenly precepts which our Lord and Saviour with so great instancy gave as concerning peace and unity, if we did all concur in desire to have the use of ancient councils again renewed, rather than these proceedings continued, which either make all contentions endless, or bring them to one only determination, and that of all other the worst, which is by sword."

Here ends the section of the book which speaks of the origin of natural and human law, and Hooker passes to that other Law which became needful, and which God Himself made known by Scripture for our aid in attainment of the highest good. Our desire is to the sovereign good or blessedness, the highest that we know. The ox and ass desire the food, and propose to themselves no end in feeding; they desire food for itself. Reasonable man eats that he may live, lives that he may work; seeks wealth, health, virtue, knowledge, still as means to other ends. "We labour to eat, and we eat to live, and we live to do good, and the good which we do is as seed sown with reference to a future harvest."

For each means to an end the desire is proportioned to its convenience; but for the last end the desire is infinite. "So that unless the last good of all, which is desired altogether for itself, be also infinite, we do evil in making it our end; even as they who placed their felicity in wealth, or honour, or pleasure, or anything here attained; because in desiring anything as our final perfection which is not so, we do amiss." "No good is infinite but only God; therefore He is our felicity and bliss. Moreover, desire tendeth unto union with that which it desireth." Our final desire, therefore, is to be with God, and live, as it were, the life of God.

Happiness is that estate whereby we attain, as far as possible, the full possession of that which is simply for itself to be desired, the highest degree of all our perfection, which is not attainable in this world. The creatures under man are less capable of happiness, because they have their chief perfection in that which is best for them, but not in that which is simply best, and whatever external perfection they may tend to is not better than themselves. Is it probable that God should frame the hearts of all men so desirous of that which no man may obtain? Beyond the complete satisfactions of the flesh; beyond the completeness in knowledge and virtue that brings social estimation; man covets a perfection that is more than all, "yea, somewhat above capacity of

reason, somewhat divine and heavenly, which with hidden exultation it rather surmiseth than conceiveth." This highest perfection man conceives in the nature of a reward. Rewards presuppose duties performed. Our natural means to this infinite reward are our works; nor is it possible that nature should ever find any other way to salvation than only this. But our works cannot deserve; there is none who can say, My ways are pure. "There resteth, therefore, either no way unto salvation, or if any, then surely a way which is supernatural, a way which could never have entered into the heart of man as much as once to conceive or imagine, if God Himself had not revealed it extraordinarily." Thus Hooker passes from the Law of Reason to the Revealed Way of Salvation — Faith, the principal object whereof is that eternal verity which hath discovered the treasures of hidden wisdom in Christ; Hope, the highest object whereof is that everlasting goodness which in Christ doth quicken the dead; Charity, the final object whereof is that incomprehensible beauty which shineth in the countenance of Christ, the Son of the living God. Laws concerning these things are supernatural, being "such as have not in nature any cause from which they flow, but were, by the voluntary appointment of God, ordained besides the course of nature, to rectify nature's obliquity withal." The revealed law of God does not supersede natural law, but is added to it, and is indeed fraught with precepts of the other also. These precepts are used to prove things less manifest; they are applied with singular use and profit to particular cases; "besides be they plain of themselves or obscure, the evidence of God's own testimony added to the natural assent of Reason concerning the certainty of them, doth not a little comfort and confirm the same." Here we are at the second resting-place in Hooker's argument, at which he pauses again to glance over the ground he has traversed, in a little summary.

In the first age of the world memories served for books, but the writing of the Law of God has been, by God's wisdom, a means of preserving it from oblivion and corruption. The writing is not that which adds authority and strength to the Law of God; but it preserves it from the hazards of tradition. "When the question therefore is, whether we be now to seek for any revealed Law of God otherwhere than only in the sacred Scripture . . . . : our answer is, no." Hooker next dwells on the fact that "the principal intent of Scripture is to deliver the laws of duties supernatural," and discusses the sense in which Scripture is said to contain all things necessary to salvation. It does not contain necessarily everything in the law of reason that man can discover for himself, but this is no defect. "It sufficeth that Nature

and Scripture do serve in such full sort, that they both jointly, and not severally either of them, be so complete, that unto everlasting felicity we need not the knowledge of anything more than these two may easily furnish our minds with on all sides; and therefore they which add traditions, as a part of supernatural necessary truth, have not the truth, but are in error."

Laws are imposed (1) by each man on himself; (2) by a public society upon its members; (3) by all nations upon each nation; (4) by the Lord Himself on any or all of these. In each of these four kinds of laws there are (*a*) Natural laws which always bind, and (*b*) Positive laws which only bind after they have been expressly and wittingly imposed. Only the positive laws are mutable, but of these not all; some are permanent, some changeable, as changes in the matter concerning which they were first made may exact. But all laws adapted to conditions that do not always continue, may require to be otherwise ordered than before. "And this doth seem to have been the very cause why St. John doth so peculiarly term the doctrine that teacheth salvation by Jesus Christ, *Evangelium Æternum*, an eternal Gospel; . . . . whereas the whole law of rites and ceremonies, although delivered with so great solemnity, is, notwithstanding, clean abrogated, inasmuch as it had but temporary cause of God's ordaining it."

This was the substance of the first of the "Four Books of the Laws of Ecclesiastical Politie," first published by Richard Hooker, then rector of Boscombe, Wiltshire, in 1594—first of the four, and strong foundation on which all the work was built. The fifth book, longer than all those four, followed in 1597, when he was rector of Bishopsbourne, near Canterbury. Hooker died in 1600, and left notes which were taken, not always rightly, as the rough draught of the remaining three books. These were not published until eighteen years after his death.

CHAPTER XII.

THE LAST YEARS OF EDMUND SPENSER.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE was thirty-two years old when Spenser, aged about forty-four, published the third, fourth, and fifth books of "The Faerie Queene." Shakespeare had published, in 1593 and 1594, his poems of "Venus and Adonis" and "Lucrece." In those years he had already begun to write plays of his own, which were produced at the rate of about two a year. In 1597, quarto editions of plays by him began to be printed. The first quarto of *Romeo and Juliet*, in 1597, was an unlicensed printer's venture, but there were, in the year 1597, the duly licensed *Richard II.* and *Richard III.* Shakespeare, therefore, must now come into our story, and also those parts of the literature of Spenser's time that are best taken with a study of Shakespeare. It is clear, too, that writers whose careers began under Elizabeth, and were continued under James I., are best associated, not with Spenser, who died before the Queen, but with Shakespeare, who passed also from one reign into the other. We turn, therefore, to Shakespeare when this book has been closed with an account of the last years of Edmund Spenser.

Spenser and Shakespeare.

In the year of the publication of the fourth, fifth, and sixth books of "The Faerie Queene" (1596), Spenser, while still in London, wrote a "spousal verse" upon the marriage, on the same day, of Elizabeth and Catherine, the

two daughters of Edward Somerset, who had succeeded, in 1589, to the Earldom of Worcester. Their bridegrooms were Henry Guilford and William Petre.

Spenser's Last Writings.

This piece was printed as a "Prothalamion" by William Ponsonby, in 1596. In the same year Ponsonby published Spenser's Four Hymns of Earthly and Heavenly Love and Beauty, with a preface of dedication, dated on the first of September, 1596. There were appended elegies by several friends upon the death of Sir Philip Sidney, for which Spenser wrote an introduction. These were the last works that Spenser published in his lifetime.

Spenser's "View of the Present State of Ireland," written or completed during this visit to London, was, no doubt, read in manuscript by the Queen and those at her Court who were most interested in the subject, but it was not printed until 1633. Then it appeared as a folio at Dublin, with a preface written by Sir James Ware.

The "Two Cantos of Mutabilitie, which, both for forme and matter, appeare to be parcell of some following Booke of the Faerie Queene, under the Legend of Constancie," were also published after Spenser's death. They first appeared in the first folio of Spenser, which was published in 1609.

"Brittain's Ida" is here only to be named because it was first published as "written by that renowned poet, Edmond Spencer," when it was printed by Thomas Walkley, in duodecimo, in 1628. It is good verse, but not from Spenser's hand.

Prothalamion,

Prothalamion.

A song before the double marriage of two daughters of the Earl of Worcester, is musical, though in its expression of the poet's courtesy to high-born ladies, there is no place for the rapture of gladness that inspired his homage to his wife on his own marriage day. Of himself, indeed, Spenser sings here with a touch of sadness. His congratulations are those of a melancholy

man. Ten stanzas, each of eighteen lines, that vary cunningly the chime of verse in rhyme and measure, and are all alike in structure, close their music each with the refrain, "Sweet Thames, run softly till I end my song." The poet walked by the river in the soft breath of a summer's day for ease from care—

> "Through discontent of my long fruitless stay
> In Princes Court, and expectation vain
> Of idle hopes, that still do fly away
> Like empty shadows."

He saw nymphs of the river gather flowers in a meadow—

> "—— the violet pallid blue,
> The little daisy that at evening closes,
> The virgin lily, and the primrose true,
> With store of vermeil roses,
> To deck their bridegrooms' posies,
> Against the bridal day, which was not long:
> Sweet Thames, run softly till I end my song."

He saw two swans come softly swimming down along the Lea. The nymphs ran to admire them. They did not seem to be of earth—here Spenser puns—"yet were they bred of Somers-heat they say"—

> "So fresh they seemed as day,
> Even as their bridal day, which was not long:
> Sweet Thames, run softly till I end my song."

One of the nymphs sang—invoking joy, peace, plenty, and a fruitful issue on the bridal of those gentle birds. She ended, her companions joined the song, and the Lea murmured low, as he would speak his glad affection to those two joyous birds, who were followed on their way by "all the fowl which in his flood did dwell."

> "At length they all to merry London came,
> To merry London, my most kindly nurse,
> That to me gave this life's first native source:
> Though from another place I take my name,
> An house of ancient fame.
> There when they came whereas those bricky towers
> The which on Thames broad aged back do ride,
> Where now the studious lawyers have their bowers,

That whilome wont the Templar knights to bide,
Till they decayed through pride.
Next whereunto there stands a stately place,
Where oft I gained gifts and goodly grace
Of that great lord which therein wont to dwell,
Whose want too well now feels my friendless case:
But ah, here fits not well
Old woes, but joys to tell
Against the bridal day, which is not long:
Sweet Thames, run softly till I end my song."

That shows the measure of a complete stanza of the "Prothalamion," and is quoted here because Spenser recalls in it his own birth as a Londoner, and kindnesses which he repays in song to Essex and to Raleigh. The next stanza, the ninth, celebrates Essex as the victor at Cadiz, wishing him a future as triumphant—

"And endless happiness of thine own name
That promises the same—"

—Devereux, *Dev(enir) heureux.* In the last stanza this noble lord comes forth "from those high towers" of Essex House, and brings with him the bridegrooms, who descend to the riverside, and meet the two fair birds, their love's delight—

"Which at the appointed tide
Each one did make his bride,
Against their bridal day, which is not long:
Sweet Thames, run softly till I end my song."

That is its ending.

Of the "Fowre Hymnes made by Edm. Spenser," which he dedicated to the Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, and the Lady Marie, Countess of Warwick, he says, in his dedication to these ladies— The Four Hymns of Earthly and Heavenly Love and Beauty.

"Having, in the greener times of my youth, composed those former two Hymns in the praise of Love and Beauty, and finding that the same too much pleased those of like age and disposition, which, being too vehemently carried with that kind of affection, do rather suck out poison to their strong passion than honey to their honest delight, I was

moved by the one of you two most excellent Ladies to call in the same. But being unable so to do, by reason that many copies thereof were formerly scattered abroad, I resolved at least to amend, and, by way of retractation to reform them, making instead of those two Hymns of Earthly (or natural) Love and Beauty, two others of Heavenly and Celestial. The which I do dedicate jointly unto you two honourable sisters, as to the most excellent and rare ornaments of all true Love and Beauty, both in the one and the other kind."

The sisters were two daughters of Francis Russell, third Earl of Bedford. Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, was an accomplished lady, with sweetness of character and sincere religious feeling. She had trouble, through her husband's unfaithfulness to her, before his death in 1605, and lawsuits afterwards to secure her daughter Anne's inheritance of the family estates. A MS. note, in a copy of Walpole's "Noble Authors," in the Bodleian, says that she herself wrote "some beautiful verses, in the style of Spenser." Her sister had been widowed on the twentieth of February, 1590, when her husband, Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick, died after amputation of a leg that had been injured by a poisoned bullet, at the defence of Havre in 1563. Margaret Clifford, Countess of Cumberland, whom we shall find to have engaged the poet, Samuel Daniel, as tutor to her daughter, lived until May, 1616. The Countess of Warwick, who was her husband's third wife, died in February, 1604.

The Four Hymns,

all written in Chaucer's stanza, are lofty in their strain. They join philosophy of Plato with the Love of God in Christ, and show Frælissa after bathing in the living well.* The Earl of Warwick had been good friend to the Puritans, and if the hymns written by Spenser in his youth to Earthly Love and Earthly Beauty bore any resemblance to those which he published under those names in 1596, it must have been an over-strained Puritanism that caused the Countess to suppose

* "E. W." ix. 327, 328.

that other young minds could suck poison out of them. They are as religious as the other two, on Heavenly Love and Heavenly Beauty, though they give only the spirit of religion separate from creed or form.

The God of Earthly Love, "Great God of Might," sits in the lap of Venus, but his heat was kindled first from Heaven's life-giving fire. He went forth into "a world that was not till he did it make." He it was who tempered and bound the elements, and gave being to living things "through secret sparks of his infused fire." Thereby all live, and life is multipled, and rational man, in choice of love, desires

> "That seems on Earth most heavenly to embrace,
> That same is Beauty, born of heavenly race."

So Cupid tips his darts with that which most enravishes frail men, "whose eyes seek heavenly things to see," and lovers have sighed, Spenser among them. Love plays the tyrant and is hard to win, "for things hard gotten men more dearly deem." It is won by stedfast minds and above reach of the base-born,

> "For Love is lord of truth and loyalty,
> Lifting himself out of the lowly dust
> On golden plumes up to the purest sky,
> Above the reach of loathly sinful lust."

The sweet passion lifts a generous desire to the high thought of heaven, gives the true lovers power to strive through pains and cares to the Paradise of all delight and hurtless sports without rebuke or blame.

The Hymn in honour of Earthly Beauty derives it from the goodly pattern in the mind of "this World's Great Work-Master," when He fashioned all as comely as He could. There is a divine soul in Beauty, which is not,

> "as fond men misdeem,
> An outward shew of things that only seem."

> "For that same goodly hue of white and red
> With which the cheeks are sprinkled, shall decay,
> And those sweet rosy leaves so fairly spread
> Upon the lips, shall fade and fall away
> To that they were, even to corrupted clay;
> That golden wire, those sparkling stars so bright,
> Shall turn to dust, and lose their goodly light.
>
> "But that fair lamp from whose celestial ray
> That light proceeds which kindleth lovers' fire,

Shall never be extinguisht nor decay;
But when the vital spirits do expire,
Unto her native planet shall retire;
For it is heavenly born and cannot die,
Being a parcel of the purest sky."

Earthly Love and Beauty are to Spenser images of the Heavenly, in honest appetites that lift the flesh into communion with the pleasures of the soul.

The Hymn of Heavenly Love sings of God's Love to Man and of the life and death of Christ. These, fully contemplated, will inspire the ravished soul "with sweet enragements of celestial love."

The Hymn of Heavenly Beauty is a hymn of Heaven itself, where the throne of God is compassed round with the great glory of the light of truth, and Wisdom sits in His bosom, "the sovereign dearling of the Deity," crowned, sceptred, swaying all according to His will. The fairness of her face no tongue can tell. Her Beauty fills the Heavens with her light. Happy are they who live

"in the aspect of that felicitie
Which they have written in their inward eye,
On which they feed, and in their fastened mind
All happy joy and full contentment find."

Then follows the closing stanza of the last poem published by Spenser himself, fit close to the strain of his life's music. Now let him

"look at last up to that Sovereign Light
From whose pure beams all perfect Beauty springs,
That kindleth Love in every godly spright,
Even the Love of God; which loathing brings
Of this vile world and these gay-seeming things:
With whose sweet pleasures being so possest,
Thy straying thoughts henceforth for ever rest."

To the little volume of 1596 that contained the "Four Hymns" and the "Prothalamion" Spenser added, with a pastoral Introduction of his own, a small collection of laments for the death of Sir Philip Sidney, written by his friends, and gathered under the name of "Astrophel." Lodowick Bryskett's "Mourning Muse of

Astrophel.

Thestylis," written soon after Sidney's death in October, 1586, was entered at Stationers' Hall for publication in 1587, but no copy has reached us of a separate issue. Bryskett was a near friend to Spenser as well as to Sidney, and Spenser first printed in 1595 his "Mourning Muse," together with other unsigned verses of lament that have been ascribed to Matthew Roydon, at the end of "Colin Clout's Come Home Again." "Astrophel," as published in 1596, opens with Spenser's pastoral Introduction. That tells of the Arcadian shepherd Astrophel who loved Stella, sought savage prey in a wild forest abroad, was wounded in the thigh by one of "the beastly rout," died mourned by Stella, and was joined with her by change of both into one flower.

> "That hearbe of some Starlight is cald by name
> Of others Penthea, though not so well;
> But thou wherever thou dost find the same
> From this day forth do call it Astrophell."

It is described as having petals that grow red and fade to blue, with a well-formed image of a star in the midst.* Spenser's introduction was dedicated to the Countess of Essex, Sidney's widow, now in her second marriage, and there was no unfitness to her mind, or to any mind, in the poetical association of Astrophel with Stella.

Laments follow of shepherds and shepherdesses for dead Astrophel, and "first his sister that Clorinda hight—

> "The gentlest shepheardesse that lives this day
> And most resembling both in shape and spright
> Her brother deare, began this doleful lay."

After the poem by Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pem-

* In Burnett's Medical Botany this plant is thought to be *Veronica Chamædrys*. "Starlights" is a South Buckinghamshire name for *Geranium molle*, which takes the change of colour, and whose flower has a star of white lines on the petals, whence its other old name, Dovefoot.

broke, there follows Bryskett's "Mourning Muse of Thestylis." Next in the collection is a "pastorall Æglogue upon the death of Sir Phillip Sidney, Knight, &c.," between Lycon and Colin—was it written by Sir Edward Dyer?—each shepherd beginning his alternation of lament with the words "Philisides is dead." Then follow the "Elegie, or friend's passion for his Astrophel," written by Matthew Roydon, and the collection is closed with two "Epitaphs" which had been printed in "The Phœnix Nest" of 1593, and are known to have been written by Sir Walter Raleigh and one of Sidney's dearest friends, Fulke Greville.

The fragment of a Seventh Book of "The Faerie Queene."

There is one spirit in the lines last quoted from the Hymn to Heavenly Beauty, and in the lines not published until after Spenser's death as fragment of a Book of Constancy, that was to have become part of "The Faerie Queene." If those lines of the Book of Constancy were written after the publishing of the four Hymns of Earthly and of Heavenly Love and Beauty, they still breathe a like sense of rest in the Lord, of faith in the immutable, the constancy of God that underlies all change.

Although a fragment of the Book of Constancy, this piece is a complete poem in itself. Its indicated place in the book for which it was written, as covering the sixth and seventh cantos and opening the eighth, is not to be overlooked. Spenser seems to have begun his seventh book by preparation for that eighth canto in which the intervention of Prince Arthur would help the knight, by grace of the All-wise God with whom is no variableness neither shadow of turning. Before adventures of the knights were planned, Spenser seemed to have shaped here an allegory of the fixed purposes of God, in a world whereof change claimed to be the mistress. And he appears to have done this as distinct preparation for the theme of the eighth canto.

The sixth canto would break off from the knights' adven-

tures, with beginning of an episode to tell how Change—an earth-born Titaness—claimed rule over the gods. Among men, she had turned life to death. She climbed then to the circle of the moon, where Cynthia reigns in everlasting glory, sought to pluck her from her ivory throne, darkened the skies, and caused appeal to Jove from gods and men, who dreaded the return of Chaos. The Titaness replied proudly to Mercury, who summoned her to leave the moon and come to answer for herself before high Jove,

> " that in evil hour
> He from his Jove such message to her brought,
> To bid her leave fair Cynthia's silver bower ;
> Sith she his Jove and him esteeméd nought,
> No more than Cynthia's self; but all their kingdoms sought."

In presence of Jove, though inly quaking, she answered boldly for herself. Daughter of Earth, the child of Chaos, she was greater in blood than all the gods, though wrongfully exiled from Heaven. She disdained Jove's warning, and appealed against Jove to the God of Nature.

> " Eftsoones the time and place appointed were
> Where all, both heavenly powers and earthly wights,
> Before great Nature's presence should appear
> For trial of their titles and best rights :
> That was, to weet, upon the highest hights
> Of Arlo Hill (who knows not Arlo Hill ?)
> That is the highest head in all men's sights
> Of my old father Mole, whom Shepheards quill
> Renowméd hath with hymnes fit for a rurall skill."

The canto closes with poetic fancies of a happy time

> " when Ireland flourishéd in fame
> Of wealths and goodnesse far above the rest
> Of all that beare the British Islands' name."

The gods were often there, and Cynthia chose Arlo Hill for her delight. Then, in a tale of river-nymphs and Faunus,

Spenser fabled a cause for the rocks and stones in the bed of the Fanchin.

In the seventh canto, the Titaness and the gods plead before veiled Nature upon Arlo Hill.

> "So hard it is for any living wight
> All her array and vestiments to tell,
> That old Dan Geffrey (in whose gentle spright
> The pure well-head of poesy did dwell)
> In his *Fowles parley* durst not with it mel,
> But it transferd to Alane, who, he thought,
> Had in his *Plaint of kinde* describ'd it wel."

Dame Mutability pleaded before Nature that she ruled changes of Earth from life to death, from death to life again; the changes of unstable Waters; and unsteady Air; of Fire, too, that decays and dies if it be not fed by the death of others, "nought leaving but their barren ashes 'without seed." The Titaness described the changes of the Seasons over which she rules, and of the twelve Months, each in its turn; the changes also of the Hours, and Life and Death. Times change, and all this lower world is subject still to Mutability. Jove asked, Who causes all the change of Time? The Titaness denied the power of the gods, and showed them in their Planets changeable, with alteration also in the motions of their spheres. Nature decides

> "that all things stedfastnesse do hate
> And changéd be; yet, being rightly wayd,
> They are not changéd from their first estate,
> But by their change their being do dilate,
> And turning to themselves at length againe
> Do worke their own perfection so by fate:
> Then ouer them Change doth not rule and raigne,
> But they raigne ouer Change, and do their states maintaine."

The last words of Nature point to a time when

> "all shall changéd bee,
> And from thenceforth none no more change shall see."

This argument in the sixth and seventh cantos leads to the two stanzas with which Spenser opened the eighth book, in preparation for his allegory of the intervention of Prince Arthur. The last thought in those stanzas—expressed, perhaps, in the last words written by Spenser as a poet—was

> "Of that same time when no more change shall be,
> But stedfast rest of all things firmely stayd
> Upon the pillours of Eternity,
> That is contrayr to Mutabilitie;
> For all that moveth doth in Change delight,
> But thenceforth all shall rest eternally
> With Him that is the God of Sabaoth hight:
> O, that great Sabaoth God, grant me that Sabaoth's sight!"

It remains only to speak of the "View of the Present State of Ireland," which Queen Elizabeth and her statesmen read in Spenser's handwriting in 1596, but which was not printed until 1633, and of which the theme points to the sorrows of the last year of the poet's life. Spenser's "View of the Present State of Ireland" was in the form of a prose dialogue between Eudoxus and Irenæus, whose names imply that one of them is a seeker of good doctrine and the other a seeker of peace. Spenser advocates—like his old chief, Arthur, Lord Grey of Wilton—unpitying severity in the suppression of rebellion, and does not shut his eyes to what this means. His Irenæus, the peacemaker, says to Eudoxus: "When you think that good and sound laws might amend and reform things amiss there, you think surely amiss. For it is vain to prescribe laws where no man careth for the keeping of them, nor feareth the danger for the breaking of them. But all the realm is first to be reformed, and laws afterwards to be made for the keeping and continuing it in that reformed estate." "How then," Eudoxus asks, "do you think is the reformation thereof to begin, if not by laws and ordinances?"

"View of the Present State of Ireland."

Says Irenæus, "Even by the sword." Thereby he hoped "to settle an eternal peace," which "must be brought in by a strong hand, and so continued until it grow into a steadfast course of government." But Spenser knew and felt the horrors of the struggle. Murrough O'Bryan was executed at Limerick in July, 1577. It is not at all necessary to suppose —though it is not impossible—that Spenser had been in Ireland, on some unknown business, three years before he went as secretary with Lord Grey, because in a dialogue between imagined characters he makes one of them say that he saw how "an old woman, which was Murrough's foster mother, took up his head whilst he was quartered, and sucked up all the blood running thereout, saying that the earth was not worthy to drink it, and therewith also steeped her face and breast, and tore her hair, crying and shrieking out most terribly." He speaks, however, from within years of his own experience when he tells what he saw of the starvation of the Irish "in those late wars in Munster," so that "any stony heart would have rued the same. Out of every corner of the wood and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves; they did eat of the carrions, happy when they could find them, yea, and one another soon after, insomuch as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves: and if they found a plot of water-cresses or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithal; that in a short space there were none almost left, and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man or beast."

Spenser wrote of the state of Ireland in his time with a full sense of the gravity of the subject. His prose memoir was that of a poet who dealt always with realities; and, when it touched on the outward accidents of life, it

did so without idleness of mind. The long sleeve of the Irishwoman's smock suggested to Spenser the fashion of the manche in Armoury, and sleeves of ladies worn by knights of old upon their arms. On the uses of the Irish mantle he has a memorable passage. When he would repair the ruined churches of Ireland, and "have them built in some better form according to the churches of England," he, who was Puritan in his regard for faithful study of the Bible, was not Puritan in his regard towards Church furniture; "for the outward show," he said, "doth greatly draw the rude people to the reverencing and frequenting thereof; whatever some of our late too nice fools say there is nothing in the seemly form and comely order of the Church."

Spenser's marriage, on the eleventh of June, 1594,* had been followed by the birth of a child in each of the four succeeding years. The names of the children were Sylvanus, Lawrence, Peregrine, and Catherine. In 1597 he returned from London to his wife and his three little ones. In the next year the fourth child was born; and on the thirtieth of September, 1598, Spenser was appointed Sheriff of Cork by the Queen's letters, which described him as "a gentleman dwelling in the County of Cork, who is so well

End of the Life of Spenser.

* Spenser's wedding day, St. Barnabas' day, the eleventh of June, is described in his "Epithalamion" as "the longest day in all the year." He says of it,

> "This day the sun is in his chiefest height
> With Barnaby the bright."

This we may take in passing as example of the need of noting change of style in day-dates. (*See* note on p. 232.) The added twelve days —which become thirteen after March, 1900—show that the astronomical place of the old eleventh of June was that of the day now called the twenty-third, and in fact so nearly our twenty-fourth that it will be reckoned as the twenty-fourth after another seven or eight years.

known unto you all for his good and commendable parts, being a man endowed with good knowledge in learning, and not unskilful or without experience in the wars."

Spenser had not been Sheriff for a month when all Munster rose at the call of Tyrone. Fire was set to Kilcolman Castle, and Spenser fled with his family to Cork. Among many idle traditions one is that a fifth child, an infant, perished in the flames. On the ninth of December, 1598, Sir Thomas Norreys, President of Munster, wrote a despatch containing details of the rising, and in another, written on the twenty-first of the same month, he said that his despatch of the ninth had been "sent by M. Spenser." It reached Whitehall on the twenty-fourth of December; and Spenser, who had written a paper of his own upon the state of Munster, and the need of a strong force to quell rebellion, died within the next four weeks. John Chamberlain, writing on Sunday, the seventeenth of January, 1599, a letter to Sir Dudley Carleton, said in it:— "Lady Cope is dead, and Spenser the Poet, who lately came from Ireland, died at Westminster last Saturday."

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